

Education in Transition

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Education in Transition

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edited by
FREDERICK C. GRUBER



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Editor's Preface

"EDUCATION IN TRANSITION," the theme of the 1959 Schoolmen's Week Conference and the title of the Forty-seventh Annual Proceedings is a tribute to John Dewey, the centennial of whose birth we celebrate. Much of his writings are concerned with examining the dualisms that have become a part of Western thought since Descartes. While he separated interest and effort, liberal and vocational, and others for analysis, he insisted upon the inherent and necessary interrelationship between such pairs. In "Essays in Experimental Logic" he maintains that knowledge is not a fixed or permanent thing, but involves a judgment which implies an inquiry arising in a problem setting. He showed here and elsewhere that both life and thought were dynamic and always changing and called for a constant reevaluation of all "knowledge" and "truth" in terms of current situations. Life and thought were for him a continuing series of transitions. Transition is the way of growth and progress. It is the natural way of things. It is to be welcomed and used for the good of the human community.

In over a hundred meetings, with an aggregate attendance of over twenty thousand, every phase of the educational enterprise was examined from early childhood to old age. In his introductory essay Professor Commager states some of the changes in American life which make a reappraisal of our educational system necessary. Dean Keppel follows with a careful consideration of the relationship between quality and quantity in schools and colleges. Professor Remlein analyzes the role of the federal government with special reference to the courts, and Dr. Lumley describes recent trends in federal and state legislation about the schools. Professor Goodlad projects the elementary school of the future and Dean Chase writes of "The High School in a New Era," while Professor Swensen concerns herself with methods of articulating the two.

Other writers tackle the problems of financing higher education, both public and private, and of making adequate provisions in both buildings and staff for the rapidly increasing college population. Doctors Forest, Hurlock, and Tibbits concern themselves with the characteristics and problems of the young child, the adolescent, and the aged respectively. New methods and techniques are discussed as are problems of adjusting the curriculum to the demands of modern society. The volume closes with three articles on John Dewey. Professor Geiger writes of John Dewey as social philosopher on which Professor Scheffler comments and Professor Belth writes two short notes concerning Dewey's philosophy of education.

Obviously only a few of the fine papers delivered at Schoolmen's Week can be included here. Those which have been chosen carry forward the theme of a changing education in a changing democratic America and its implementation. In "Democracy as a Moral Ideal" Dewey wrote: "Democracy is a way of life controlled by a working faith in the possibilities of human nature. Belief in the Common Man is a familiar article in the democratic creed. That belief is without basis and significance save as it means faith in the potentialities of human nature as that nature is exhibited in every human being irrespective of race, color, sex, birth, and family of material or cultural wealth. This faith may be enacted in statutes, but it is only on paper unless it is put in force in the attitudes which human beings display to one another in all the incidents and relations of daily life." The how, what, and why of putting this faith in force is the concern of American education and is the theme of "Education in Transition."

The editor wishes to thank all those who have contributed to the preparation of the "Proceedings," especially the members of his staff and those of the University of Pennsylvania Press. Acknowledgment is hereby gratefully made to authors and publishers who have given permission to quote from their works.

FREDERICK. C. GRUBER

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I

General

Transition in Education

HENRY STEELE COMMAGER*

AS EDUCATION is a function of society, and adapts to society, it must be alert to the transitions which are continuously taking place in the social structure. We are on the verge of the watershed of the sixties—a watershed as significant in our experience as that of the 1890's. It is not necessary for us to trace all the topographical features of this transition, but only those which require adjustments in schools and in education. All of these are obvious enough:

There has been an *immense* growth in our population: 30 million in 10 years, and the growth will be even more rapid in another decade or two. It is predicted that we shall pass the 300 million mark in the next 35 years. This means that the *school age population* will increase faster than the general population.

Automation will bring about a shorter work day, week and year. Our people will enter work at a later age and retire earlier. The large numbers of persons with time on their hands raises problems of education for leisure and of extending education for the young.

The rehabilitation of our cities, and the concentration of population in them and surrounding suburbia means a heavier concentration of school population in urban areas where costs of services are relatively higher than in the country and are constantly rising.

The growing determination of the American people to give equal educational opportunities to its children and youth of all races and classes will bring increasing numbers into the school going society.

The shifts from private to public economy in many realms will increase the function and participation of the federal government on all levels. It will mean much larger college and university population as college takes the place of high school.

A shift of the role of the United States from the predominant

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military to the dominant scientific, technological, educational, and cultural power will necessitate our playing a role similar to that of France and England in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries or of Athens in the ancient world.

What are the implications of these massive changes, changes which are already under way, on American education?

It is fairly evident that the needs of the next generation will be heavily in the intellectual realm, in technology, and in science and the social sciences. Experts in all fields more than ever before will be needed, and the professions will be more important than ever before. The high schools will need to give more attention to stimulating the brightest pupils and providing them with a really challenging program. There will be less need for vocational education. Vocations are already better taught in factories and in offices than in the schools, while automation is taking over many of the tasks for which the young had to be trained.

The problem of the proper use of spare time looms large. The schools must prepare their students for further intellectual interests, ventures, and skills. We must also undertake elaborate programs of adult or continuing education. Adult education, much of which is now of a very miscellaneous character, is going to require the same kind of statesmanship that the elementary and secondary schools required half a century ago. There is need for more and bolder experimentation. We need adult education not only for recreation, but also in nature-conservation and public services in order to preserve the facilities for recreation. We shall need a generation of well trained librarians and well stocked libraries to save ourselves from becoming a generation of readers of comic books or popular magazines which rot the mind. We shall have to create higher standards for radio and television listening and viewing. Adult education has as yet no educational statesmanship such as John Dewey gave to elementary and secondary education. The high school could be the center for this continuing education.

Greater demands of public service at every level will flow from the growth of the welfare state, from increasing urbanization, and from increasing responsibilities to the rest of the globe. More and better trained teachers will be needed to take care of the increasing school

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population especially on the college level. And along with this will go demand for far more of the associates of teaching—administrators, librarians, technicians of one kind and another. Consider the problem of finding enough scholars to teach five to eight million college and university students. We do not now have enough to go around for the present enrollment of three and a half million, and we are not turning them out fast enough or in sufficient numbers to keep up with current needs.

Public services seem to have grown by geometric ratio in the past few decades and will probably continue to grow in that fashion, bringing demands for social and governmental services in every direction.

We have become, with astonishing speed, an international community. Several hundred thousand Americans are now abroad engaged in business, humane, religious, cultural and philanthropic activities. There is every reason to suppose that this role will be enlarged in the next generation. For in all likelihood America's military role will decline, and its non-military role will be enhanced as Asia and Africa rise to positions of equality in world affairs. We can look forward with some confidence to the time when even Asiatic countries—perhaps even China, who knows—will call on us for medicine, for agriculture, for library services, for the one hundred and one things we do perhaps better than other peoples. We can export brains more successfully than we can export anything else, and it may be our most valuable export. All this will make special demands on our schools.

Our new role in world affairs will call for training in public enterprise. Ours is a society which is dedicated to private enterprise, chiefly in economic and social areas. The American ideal, at least that which is celebrated most widely in radio and press, is that of private success. The very suggestion of public enterprise is somehow equated with socialism which is linked to communism. Somehow we must manage to restore, if we can, the ideal of public enterprise that animated the generation that won independence and founded a nation and wrote the constitution; that animated a Washington, a Franklin, a Jefferson, a John Adams, a Hamilton; these men spent themselves, their lives and their fortunes, in public services.

This is not to call for something new in public education; it is not even to evoke again the name of John Dewey. The oldest tradition in education is the tradition of education for public service, for citizenship, for larger moral and ethical purposes. It is implicit in Plato, in the tradition of the great English public schools, in Pestalozzi and Fellenberg, in Jefferson, Horace Mann, Henry Barnard, and John Dewey. But notwithstanding all this, we have drifted away from this concept of education: ours is increasingly vocational rather than intellectual and moral in the largest sense.

Not only do we have to train for service to the commonwealth, as in the early days of the republic, but to-day we train for larger service to the commonwealth of mankind.

In education, therefore, we should lay greater stress on public enterprise as did the patriots in the founding of the republic. One of the reasons for the decline of statesmanship in our time is that atmosphere of admiration for private and of depreciation or positive disapprobation of public enterprise has tended to dry up juices of public enterprise. It is clear that the kind of society and economy in the making will make more and more demands on public enterprise, on community service. Schools should begin to anticipate these new demands, and to raise up a generation that will fulfill them.

This is a very difficult enterprise. It is not too hard to train the young to particular vocations, or professions. It is extraordinarily difficult to train them to take on responsibilities of public enterprise, locally, nationally, internationally. Clearly this is something that cannot be taught directly; that cannot be prepared for directly—certainly not in the high school, and probably not even in the college. I do not have much faith in direct admonition, or in superficial vocational preparation—not for the kind of world we are going to be part of. All those who cry "Lord, Lord" shall not enter into the Kingdom of Heaven; all those who cry "peace, peace," or even "World Culture," do not thereby escape the taint of either parochialism or narrowness. I confess I do not know what is the best method for the high schools to adopt. I suspect, however—and I confess that I am influenced by the long example of the English—that not a series of stabs at specialized instruction but thorough grounding in a few subjects that have traditionally enlightened and ennobled men, may be the appropriate

course. I have in mind the study of literature, of history, of religion, of the history of science, of art and music—of the great heritage of western civilization.

You cannot teach the necessary virtues—tolerance, patience, sympathy, magnanimity—not directly anyway. These things are byproducts of learning, and I think mostly of learning in the subjects I enumerated and others of that character that will occur to you. What promises most for the training of a generation able to understand and sympathize with the aspirations and need of other peoples and nations, and prepared to work to help meet them—what promises most is I think teaching with intellectual and moral content: the specialized training—when required—can come later.

One of the difficulties of the transition in education is that it is coming so very fast. There is little time to prepare for it—there is really no time to prepare for it. Perhaps all we can hope to do for some years is to survive the avalanche.

And what exacerbates the difficulty of preparation is that the decisive actions are for the most part outside the control of the teachers themselves. The most important factor is doubtless finance: without a great deal more money for both capital investment and current expenses, it will be difficult to improve high school education. The question of money is in the hands of taxpayers—either directly in voting on bond issues and school programs, or indirectly in voting for Congressmen who will decide questions of *federal aid*. It is important to keep in mind in this connection that the men and women who will be making these decisions are the youngsters in high school now—and particularly those going on to higher education; in all likelihood—if the various sociological studies of recent years are sound—they are the group from whom will come the legislators and executives of the next generation.

Much of the program of reform and improvement will depend on a supply of good teachers. We will have to increase the number of teachers and the quality of teachers at the same time: a very difficult achievement. The first may be easier of accomplishment. Ideally we should provide for our schools, teachers trained as those in Sweden and Norway are trained with seven years university education, the equivalent of the doctorate. It is improbable that we will do this.

What seems to me sobering is that the colleges and universities are not now carrying their share of this responsibility. Our graduate schools are not turning out the scholars who will teach the teachers; there are proportionately fewer Ph.D's than two decades ago. Nor are our educational statesmen solving the problem of university preparation of teachers: instead they allow the task to go by default to the teachers colleges, and stand to one side and criticize.

I turn then to what may seem to you the really urgent problem: the problem of financing the kind of education—and the amount of education—that we are going to need in the next generation.

Clearly education is going to get increasingly expensive—and the increase, again, will not be just proportionate, but almost geometric. Already there are signs of—shall I say sulkiness—on the part of the taxpayers; already a reluctance either to vote bond issues for construction, or budgets for increased salaries. This is understandable enough: taxes have never been popular; even when—as in the 1760's—they rested lightly upon Americans, there was resentment.

I suggest—with some hesitation to be sure—that it is possible to effect some economies in education—particularly, I think, at the secondary level. Certainly for the brighter students, possibly for the majority of students, the four years should be cut to three, thus, in effect, making a saving of space (and presumably of money) of 25%. Can it be done? Possibly by longer school days, by longer school years—as in most Northern European countries; by readiness to require more home work than now common of those who propose to continue education. One of the reasons for the long vacation, and the short day in the past was that parents needed the earnings of the young—or their help on the farms. This is no longer valid, but we still keep the earlier chronology—just as we still keep our absurd election chronology because in the 19th century it took so long for candidates to get around the country!

We should cut out some of the more expensive marginal activities of education. I have in mind the amount of money spent, for example, on competitive athletics—on building stadia, on hiring coaches, on supplies and overhead generally. This is not the occasion for a more general discussion of the dangers of competitive athletics in

the high school; suffice it to suggest that current athletic malpractices are both demoralizing and expensive, and that they should and can be corrected: take away money and give games back to the students—as was the habit all through the 19th and well into the 20th century and is today universal in England. At present a large part of the athletic program is conducted for the amusement, edification, vanity, or profit of adults, not for the benefit of the young. This scandal should be ended.

I have in mind, too, other marginal activities. You know better than I do how much it costs to teach driver training in our high schools. Why should the schools carry this burden? Why not the insurance companies? Why not the American Legion, or the local Rotary, or the scores of other organizations so eager to participate in the business of education when it comes to deciding what books should be in the library or what magazines teachers should read, and so reluctant to do anything effective?

There are, I suspect, a good many other things that, in the course of time have been foisted onto the schools. You can supply your own list. Most of these are things that should be taught; it does not follow that they should be taught in the schools. We might consider returning to other groups—the family, perhaps, or the women's organizations—some of the instruction that now consumes time and money in the schools.

We must find new sources of revenue to expand and improve the schools and to equalize education for American youth. This raises the difficult questions of the nature of education and its support. Education is both a public and a private concern. It is both local and national.

We must face squarely the problem of private as well as public schools and colleges. This problem bristles with difficulties. I do not pretend to have a solution but I suggest: that scholarships to individuals, as in the first G. I. Bill, be continued in order to by-pass the public-private school problem.

Danger to freedom is involved by all kinds of financial support, even on the local level. Our experience so far with federal government support in education as well in other phases of American life

has shown little or no domination or control. The grave danger of no federal support, resulting in an inferior class education is frightening to contemplate and serious in its consequences.

Whatever economies are effected will, however, change but little the nature of the financial problem. Education is going to need not only more substantial financing but more equitable financing in the next generation. The financing can come only with the participation of the federal government. We must all of us face equally the problem of federal aid to education at every level.

Quality in Education

FRANCIS KEPPEL*

SOON AFTER the second war, when I began to try to learn about American schools, I thought I knew what the words "quality" and "education" meant. It will not surprise you that my definitions, as seen in retrospect, simply reflected those aspects of personal experience that seemed admirable at the time. Today I must confess to far less certainty and far more confusion about the meaning of quality.

The only definition that seems to command general assent outside the ranks of professional educators, and among the vocal and literary types in our society, is that quality in education is something we do not have. On this point, I can provide you with testimony from historians, humanists, admirals, college presidents of several shapes, physicists, devotees of the far left and the far right politically, and columnists. To argue for the proposition that we *lack* "quality in education" would be easy, and a waste of time.

To define what these individuals and groups *mean* by "quality in education," however, would be infinitely more difficult. In general, where definitions are attempted at all, the language tends to be cloudy and high, scattered clouds at that. Those who deplore our present standards (which they say resulted from progressive education) give definitions of quality which, if recast into pedagogy, are very like the slogans of progressive education at its height. "Critical thinking" and "independent study" are the new ways of describing old aims. A greater elegance of language does not hide the family resemblance.

The historian, looking back at our times, may report the shift in public attitude about the quality of the schools as more a factor of the change from an introverted era of depression to a neurotic era of good times than the result of any change in philosophy or psychology.

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ogy of education. Shifts of words may reflect shifts of mood rather than shift of more basic meaning. "Hard" courses are fashionable today where they were not twenty-five years ago. Is this because some contemporary Jonathan Edwards has kindled our puritan conscience, or because things were not easy in 1934 and no one needed reminding that life was a hard lot? I dare not say; I can only report that I suspect that the forces that beat us about today have their origins far from the schools.

Our best policy as educators is to stick to our daily work, to confess our sins when we know what they are, and to try to avoid the sense of martyrdom.

You must forgive me, therefore, if I plead incompetence in defining "quality in education." Let me ask you instead to make some operating assumptions about the schools: first, to assume that the human capacity to learn—whether facts or habits or style—has never been stretched to its capacity in schools. The simple example of a poor student's capacity to learn hating averages is adequate testimony. Let me further ask you to assume that history makes a better case for more learning than for more ignorance. I ask you this despite some unhappy memories of Nazi Germany. Finally, may we assume that formal education will always mean in practice some mixture of the learning of facts and intellectual skills and the learning of socially desirable habits, even though it may be more convenient at times to pretend that it is not so?

If you grant these propositions, it is possible to suggest a line of action even though the goal is undefined. We can put our faith on the notion that our *process*, based on these assumptions, can do no harm and that the process itself will bring us nearer and nearer to a definition of quality. This careful attention to process, after all, was the basis of the work of the men of genius who made this city famous as they wrote a constitution to help the nation proceed in the pursuit of happiness. Let us, on a far smaller scale and with no pretensions of such genius, talk of *process* today.

How best can we loose the power that lies in the head of each pupil? Alas, we lack the theory and the machinery that modern physics has brought to bear on the power of the atom. But we do know some things: *the human learns better when he wants to learn, when he learns*

at a pace that fits his particular condition, and when he can proceed from step to step with the minimum of confusion.

The limited powers of the school in our society make it hard now for the educator to have more than a minor influence in making pupils want to learn. It would seem to me wise for those of us in education to be modest in our claims to the public on this score, particularly in the sector of compulsory education. The quality of the nation's whole social and intellectual life will tend to define and to restrict what the schools can do in finding our way toward more learning for everybody. I do not intend to imply that we are helpless, only that we as educators must depend on others for our supplies for the journey. We can only go as far as the power supply will let us.

From this fact I draw the conclusion that the educators should take a far more active role than any we have so far tried in influencing the nature of American life as it relates to learning. The most obvious aim is to make learning fashionable in all American homes. The dangers are great, of course: the degradation of the quiz programs is what can happen if soft soap is substituted for careful thinking. Too much concentration on the economic fruits of learning can lead to the vulgarity of some of our higher education. But on balance the advantages of such a policy outweigh the dangers. We as educators must actively and, where appropriate, politically support a host of causes: urban redevelopment, educational television, libraries, the theater and the arts. It is one of the sad facts of recent decades that the so-called professional educators have become separated from both the scholars and the social reformers who share these aims. They are our natural allies and we should join forces again.

Fortunately, there are signs of progress in this direction. Many learned societies and scientific associations are becoming exercised about public ignorance, and about the public's low rating of intellectuals in general. They are trying to influence the public mind. Many of their programs are aimed at improving the school curriculum, as the best point of leverage. We in school work must not be discouraged at the preamble of many of the statements of these groups, which often say that we school people are the cause of all the trouble, but that we must be forgiven because of our inadequate pay and our bad training. The trick is to forget these preambles and get at the

proposal. This is what T. M. Stinnett and his N.E.A. colleagues tried to do in 1958 at Bowling Green and this summer at Kansas. You will find reports on these matters, in Mr. Stinnett's magazine *Teacher Education* in the current issue, to be useful reading. May I urge that we build our links with the world that rates learning high whenever we can.

The same tactics make sense with regard to social movements aimed at improving family life. The Glueck's recent study on juvenile delinquency, as I understand it, puts the spotlight on the links between parental behavior (or the lack of it), troubles in school, and unsocial behavior. I look forward to the day when teachers will be a major support of the causes of improved housing and medical and cultural facilities. This is the way we can influence the atmosphere our pupils breathe, and therefore their will to learn. It is both to our public and our professional interest to do so. It will remind everyone concerned that we teachers are bound by the restraints of society as a whole, and therefore it will keep people from expecting from us more than we can deliver. It may make it possible to come ever closer to the goal of increasing the amount children learn. And I cannot think that it will do any harm for teachers as a group to be seen in the public eye as a force for causes other than their own salaries and more taxes for schools.

What can we say of our progress toward adjusting our educational machinery to the pace of each individual? Evidently there are many who doubt whether we are doing very well, to judge from the rash of critical comments, particularly in the case of the gifted. Special classes and content are urged upon us. At the same time there are voices raised against any effort to vary content to the individual. This line of argument leads to a single curriculum measured at some time by a common examination. The variation, presumably, can take place only in the length of time the pupil gives to study.

In favor of this latter argument is the conception of education as a life long enterprise rather than a series of set burdles, to be jumped in one's youth. If we really believed that this view were practical, I have no doubts that we would worry less than we do about fitting our school program to the individual's speed. But, as I see it, we simply doubt whether American society will permit the schools to

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forget time or pupil age. The culture demands that individuals become self-supporting at a reasonably early age, and for social reasons there is great hesitation about allowing too wide an age span in school classrooms. From these factors I can only conclude that we must continue to try, *inside* the school years, to adjust teaching and content to the learners' pace.

Up to now, our basic professional argument has been that the best solution is to reduce class size so that each teacher can come to know each pupil. The ultimate of this line of reasoning is one teacher per student—a thought that understandably would trouble the taxpayer groups.

But even aside from the taxpayers' protest, it is fair to wonder whether this policy of uniformly small classes is sensible. It seems to me to be based on three assumptions that lack proof:

- (1) that all subjects require the same technique of teaching
- (2) that teachers can be selected and trained to be of equal quality
- (3) that young pupils will only learn if closely supervised by an adult.

At a time when many—in and out of the teaching profession—are troubled at our inability to do better than we are, it is only horse sense to check back into our assumption. We are, I think, beginning to see the results of our partial failure to do so. Supporters of one or another new technique are urging us to adopt their ideas to solve *all* our problems. Television, for example, is proposed as a way to give brilliant teachers a chance to spread their influence, to improve the quality of content used, to make up for inadequate laboratories, and perhaps to lead to a more uniform national curriculum. But this instrument by itself does not fully meet the criterion I proposed earlier to judge progress toward better quality: *that the human learns better when he learns at a pace that fits his particular condition*. It is an immensely promising instrument for motivation and for stimulus: by its very nature it can not provide a close bond to response. If B. F. Skinner is right, and the immediacy of reinforcement to correct responses is the key to learning, then television is only the bam without the eggs.

This does not imply that we as a profession should fight the proponents of the use of television. We should welcome and support

improved quality, therefore, is to create a continuing, built in, mechanism for research and development. With this at hand we as a profession will be able to select wisely from the many ideas and proposals now presented to us.

Finally we all know that the key to quality (whatever its meaning may be) is in the personnel who define it for themselves and who demonstrate it in practice. The most difficult problem we face over the years is recruitment. What is our present situation?

To attract able candidates at a time when every profession seeks more and better qualified people, obviously presents grave difficulties. To begin with, the general reputation of the study of education is far from favorable. Second, there is a widespread idea that no one in education can earn a decent living. Actually, in good school systems, initial salaries are reasonably competitive with opening salaries in many professions. From the point of view of women, indeed, teaching is in a relatively strong competitive position.

For men, however, the problem of future income and responsibility is crucial. For them the issue is not the bottom salary; it is the top salary. Where can they go? What kind of reasonable expectation of advancement may they have? What is the ceiling to the natural ambition of an able and vigorous college graduate?

In the answer to this last question lies the heart of both the problem of staffing the schools with a strong proportion of the most promising men and women of each generation, and the problem of how best to use their talents.

We are forced now to tell a young man who is thinking of teaching as a career that he can look forward only to a low ceiling in salary and responsibility. We must say in effect that, if he starts teaching at 21, by retirement at the age of 65, he will still influence the lives of only the same number of pupils in his classroom at any given time as when he began. They may well be the same age group. We must further report that ordinarily his salary will increase only to the extent that it reflects length of service and so many "hours" of graduate study. While we can report rumors of some teachers' salaries above \$8,000 per year, honesty compels us to say that they are few and far between.

Obviously this is not a personnel policy exciting to the energetic

Quality in Education

young man. The low salary ceiling is bad enough—but perhaps even worse is the lack of advancement, the lack of sense of goal, and the absence of that increased responsibility which usually accompanies merit and experience. Business and law, government and industry, even higher education with its system of professional ranks, offer such future possibilities. But not the schools! It is likely, therefore, that our young man either gives up the thought of teaching as a career or that he plans as soon as possible to become an administrator. Here the picture is far more appealing.

Yet by emphasizing this path to advancement alone, a university clearly runs the danger of neglecting the core of American education: the teaching staff in direct touch with the pupils. Is there a way out of this dilemma? Can we assume that all salaries of the teaching staff will rise, because of the present shortage, to a point where enough young men and women of the quality we all seek will be attracted to staff all the classrooms of America?

As I study the situation, with particular attention to the demands of other professional fields, I can only conclude that it is impossible in the next twenty years for the classrooms of the nation to take so high a proportion of the promising young men and women of each generation. For to do so would require, under the present pattern of school personnel organization and the present ratio of teachers to children, half of the college graduates of each spring—assuming that all needed teachers were taken from the college graduating classes. (This is, of course, an unnecessary and unwise assumption, but it serves to illustrate the size of the problem.) There may be a debate as to whether such an allocation of our manpower would be desirable from the point of view of the future of our society. But it would be a theoretical debate. In practice, there is not the slightest chance of its happening.

We do not stand at only a single crossroad. We stand at several at once. The people must of course decide to put education on a higher level in their hierarchy of values. Salaries must of course be increased. But this alone will not solve the problem of a general, national shortage of skilled personnel. We must also face the fact that the personnel structure of the schools is ill designed to attract or to hold anything like an adequate proportion of the nation's most

skilled and promising young men and women. This is true above all when other professions will be in need of the very same group. For salaries are not only too low—they also do not offer enough range. They tend to assume that all teachers are the same, and all teaching jobs alike. Common sense, of course, denies the former; alas, the present situation does not deny the latter. A widening of the range would seem to call for a change in the structure.

This change in personnel structure would involve a speech even longer, Heaven forbid, than this one. Certainly I have no answers. I can only plead that we face up to the problem, for if we do not, we can not hope for long run improvement of quality.

To summarize: three areas can be explored as ways to reach quality in education.

- (1) vigorous support of non-educational programs to improve the social climate from which our children gain the will to learn.
- (2) far heavier reliance on careful, tough-minded research and development in the content and the techniques of education.
- (3) facing up to the problems of recruiting and holding high quality personnel in the years ahead.

Along these paths may lie progress toward a program of quality in education. As year succeeds to year, the problems we face seem to me more complex and less susceptible to panaceas. But as year succeeds to year, the place of education in a decent society seems more and more important. Our generation can contribute one little mite to a cause far greater than all of us, a cause that deserves our deepest allegiance.

Impression of English Education 1958-1959

MARY SCOTT SPILLER

IT HAS BEEN my good fortune to live in London for two periods of eight months each, the first in 1928-29, the second thirty years later during the past year. On both occasions we lived in the suburbs: in 1928 in a house in a garden suburb, our family of two young children; in 1958 in a flat in the home of an English doctor and his wife and children, eight and ten years old. In 1928, I made a definite and fairly intensive study of English education for children under seven years of age in preparation for a master's thesis. In 1958 my interests were general, and considerably more casual.

During both visits I was impressed by the importance and dignity which the English give to education, and by the respect in which all teachers are held. I was also impressed by the quiet, thorough, patient way in which details are worked out, and by the non-political methods of administering the schools.

Although the final responsibility for all English schools is in the hands of the Minister of Education, an elected member of Parliament, appointed by the Prime Minister, the actual responsibility is shared with Local Education Authorities, the managers or governors of individual schools, and the teachers. The headmaster or headmistress of each school is responsible for framing the curriculum of his or her own school. Inspectors hold national posts with the title "Her Majesty's Inspectors," and their duty is to advise, but not to direct. Their influence can be very strong and it is usually good. The influence of the Ministry of Education also reaches into the schools and to the teachers through a wealth of well-written reports containing suggestions and recommendations. There are Ministry reports on both general and specific subjects, reports full of statistics and reports like Pamphlet #27, "Music in Schools," which provide inspiration and definite material for teachers seeking ideas.

Important provisions and changes in the schools are made by Acts of Parliament, passed after careful presentation of ideas and debate on them. Four important acts of Parliament have shaped the public, and to a fairly high degree, the private or independent English schools. In 1870 an education act set up School Boards to provide elementary schools for all children. In 1902, an act replaced the boards by Local Education Authorities which were given power to provide secondary and technical schools. In 1918 an act raised school leaving age to fourteen years and called for practical and advanced instruction for older children. It also abolished fees for elementary schools.

In 1944 an act of great importance was passed. It reconstructed the entire educational system, raised the leaving age to fifteen, and provided free secondary education for all. The English are very proud of this act which was passed by the combined efforts of the major political parties when England had been at war for five years and life was extremely austere. No one party can claim the credit for this act, nor has anyone tried to do so. Members of the Labor Party and others point out that Labor has always been friendly to nursery schools since they serve working mothers, and to technical schools which serve industry, but it seems clear that this important Education Act, was the cooperative work of the leading political parties, rather than the political platform of any one party.

Education is compulsory from five to fifteen. In starting at five, England has gone one year lower than any other European country, and those responsible for the earliest years have assumed that the five year olds must have programs which protect their physical and mental health. Although 85% of the pupils, as reported in 1958, leave school at fifteen, there is much attention paid to the next three years of non-compulsory education for those who stay longer, and may stay in school until eighteen or older.

The general plan of English education provides for Nursery Schools for children from two to five years old. These are not compulsory from either side. Children are not required to attend them, and local education authorities are not obligated to provide them. Infant Schools, a name originated over a century ago and still continued in

spite of the protests of their attenders, cover the years from five to seven. The Junior School, which may or may not be in the same building with an Infant School, goes from seven to eleven years.

I visited one school in which an Infant School occupied the ground floor and a Junior School the two upper floors. There was unusual cooperation between the Headmistress of the Infant School and the Headmaster of the Junior School. They had worked out a fine transition for the children at seven years and had made a continuous experience of education from five to eleven years. I also visited an entirely separate Infant School in a fine new building and I sensed some concern on the part of the teachers about possible disturbance in the children on moving at seven years to an entirely different location.

At eleven years, children move on to a secondary school which may be a Grammar School with a traditional classical curriculum, a Secondary Modern School which is less book-centered and stresses history, science, and mathematics rather than classics, or a Comprehensive School which offers both kinds of curriculum. Technical schools are also provided and they may be entered at fourteen or later, usually from a Secondary Modern School.

Although the curriculum in each school is framed by the headmaster or the headmistress, usually in cooperation with the teachers and with due attention to the suggestions and recommendations of the Ministry of Education, the subjects studied and the ages at which they are introduced are not too different from American policies. Reading and formal arithmetic are started sooner, at five years, but the approach is similar to that of many of our kindergarten and first grade teachers. Most Infant Schools use a combination of methods of teaching reading, which they call the "global method." It combines the alphabetical, phonetic, look-and-say, and the sentence methods. Number study in the early years is likely to be concrete rather than abstract or purely a memory exercise. Since there is a Standard English Speech, in spite of many dialects and regional variations, speech training is strongly emphasized and it is not uncommon for a child to have two different ways of speaking, one for home and one for school, or possibly a third for his contemporaries. History,

natural science and literature are added in the Junior School, and later in the Secondary School, ancient and modern languages and further mathematics and science.

Music has always been important since the early days of the cathedral choir schools. The Forster Act of 1870, which established primary schools for all, made singing a compulsory subject on which one sixth of the annual grant depended. The Code of 1882 provided for an additional grant of sixpence per child to schools which taught singing by rote or a shilling per child if notation were taught. Music is still important all through the schools, starting with nursery songs, folk songs and "movement in association with music" in Nursery and Infant Schools, and going on to choral singing, sight reading, study of instruments and playing in orchestras and bands in Junior and Secondary Schools.

Music Festivals, both competitive and non-competitive, have been popular in England since the early part of this century, and they seem to provide interest and incentives for both children and teachers. I attended a non-competitive festival at Christmas time at the Royal Festival Hall in London, when several thousand children from twenty or more schools came together to sing carols under the direction of the Chief Inspector of Music for the London County Council. For two weeks before Christmas, similar groups of children from seven years up were brought together to sing in the beautiful hall, with its almost perfect acoustics, to the accompaniment of the Queen's organist.

To a somewhat lesser extent, creative art is stressed from the earliest years, and there is much evidence that it is handled intelligently. However, accomplishment in this field, where work is necessarily individual in character, is hard to judge and measure.

Since the National Health Service was established by Act of Parliament in 1946, and went into effect in 1948, another instance of cooperation between parties with different political beliefs, the health of children has been carefully supervised and greatly improved. There was decided improvement in the appearance of school children in 1959, as compared with my impressions of 1928. I watched a school nurse at work on routine examinations and saw records start-

Impression of English Education 1958-1959

ing shortly after birth. I was told that individual records are kept, when possible, up to adulthood, sometimes to twenty-five years.

Children in the free schools have routine examinations and correction of defects, but those in independent schools are also supervised. Some independent schools have their own physicians; others cooperate with parents to insure examination and correction by the family physician or, in the case of boarding schools, by a physician working under the National Health Service.

Although coeducation exists in England, and is growing in popularity, separate education for boys and girls has been, and still is, the traditional pattern. Nursery schools and, to some extent, Infant Schools have favored having boys and girls together, and the few comprehensive secondary schools are trying it, but most schools for children over eleven, and many for the younger ages, have one sex only. At the University level, coeducation is common, although women are in the minority in the university population. Most of the Teacher Training Colleges are for one sex.

Classes tend to be large: forty is the recommended maximum for Primary Schools, thirty for Secondary. Shifts in population have been responsible for classes both below and above these figures.

The percentage of men in the teaching profession is high. According to the 1958 report of the Ministry of Education, there were 258,186 teachers in English schools. Of these 98,603 were men, 159,583 were women. In the elementary schools there are approximately three times as many women teachers as men. In secondary schools there are nearly twice as many men as women. The Head Teacher positions are divided almost equally between men and women, with the same tendency for women to lead in numbers in the elementary schools and men in the secondary schools.

Teachers may get their training either in the Universities or in Training Colleges, set up by the Ministry of Education. With a few exceptions, the university course is for three years, although the University College of North Staffordshire, founded in 1950, has a four year course, as do some of the Scottish universities. The Training College course has been a two year one. In 1957, however, the Ministry of Education published a pamphlet (No. 34) suggesting

a three year course for Training Colleges, based on the general premise that prospective teachers would profit by a more leisurely training that would remove some of the hurry and pressure under which they work in a two year course, and give more time for thinking, reading, and writing. To this end, specific recommendations for better libraries, better living conditions in residential colleges, and better conditions for studying the arts were made. To my knowledge, this question is still in the stage of study. On a visit to the Gypsy Hill Training College in London, one of the oldest and most respected of the Training Colleges, the principal reported that she was in the midst of formulating plans for extending the course in her college to three years, with 1960 as a date to work towards for the start.

Although teachers are prepared in training colleges for both primary and secondary schools, there is a tendency for the secondary teachers to train in the universities, and for schools to look for teachers well grounded in special subjects, usually with University degrees often Honours Degrees. As one teacher expressed it, in primary schools teachers need to be general practitioners; in secondary schools, although they must have either intuitive or learned understanding of children and workable methods, they need to be specialists in subject matter.

I was greatly interested in one policy of the London County Council. Every year about a hundred teachers in London schools, elementary and secondary, are given a leave of absence, with pay, to study at the Institute of Education of the University of London. Only teachers of eight or ten years' successful teaching experience are eligible for this leave. Their choice of study is fairly wide. It may be in the philosophy of Education or in special subjects or in combinations of the two. I attended a lecture given by a distinguished American on Recent Trends in American Education, during which I had a chance to observe the group for the year 1958-59, an unusually fine group of men and women, mostly in the thirties. Later at tea, I heard from several teachers enthusiastic reports of their experiences and their gratitude for the opportunity for studying and thinking after intensive classroom experience.

The English system of appointing teachers seems to me very fair and intelligent. All open positions are publicly advertised. Those

of you who know the weekly Educational Supplement of the London Times are familiar with the listing, covering as many as six or eight pages sometimes, of open positions for all kinds of teachers from nursery assistants in small rural schools to named professorships at Oxford and Cambridge. Salaries are given, along with the listings, and anyone may apply. This system does not preclude the age old practice of telling likely candidates about openings and suggesting that they apply. Nor does it mean that important posts must be filled from among existing applicants. It does, however, bring the whole question of openings and appointments out into the open and has, I am told, a healthy effect. I happened to see the system working out in the case of a young Englishman who had been teaching in a continental university for several years, harboring a desire to return to England sometime. He heard about the listing of a new post, applied rather late after several nearby candidates had applied and been considered, and he got the job.

English salaries for teachers, although low according to our standards, are in scale with those in other professions and are protected by the Burnham Committee of the Ministry of Education, which has established the Burnham Scale to which all state schools must subscribe and which most independent schools do follow. This committee has been working to equalize the salaries of men and women which until 1956 had been notably unequal. By one of its provisions women's salaries are being gradually brought up to men's by seven equal installments with the goal of equality by April, 1961. In April, 1958 this had been 4/7 accomplished.

Appointment of teachers in England is likely to be the result of the judgment of a number of people. In an elementary school, for instance, after a candidate has applied and submitted her credentials, she is likely to be interviewed by the headmaster of the school, by the inspector for the type of school involved, and by one or more members of the board of managers of the school. Each school has a fairly large group, sometimes up to twenty-five in number, of local citizens as managers or governors, who support, advise, and assist the headmaster. The inspector can play a very important role in these appointments. Since he or she knows well the personalities, philosophies, and physical conditions of the schools, candidates can be

steered towards or away from conditions that could mean success or failure. I had the experience of watching one inspector who had the valuable skill of ferreting out headmistresses who were strong on training new teachers and helping to steer recent graduates into situations where their first positions were likely to work out well.

So far I have been trying to give a picture of the framework of English education. It is a broad and, I think, a strong framework, broad enough to leave plenty of room for local and individual initiative and strong enough to protect children and teachers against the abuses of inefficiency or injustice. When I first arrived in England last September, I wondered whether there would be a prevailing spirit or philosophy that I could detect. In 1928 there had been a great deal of interest in what the English and many Europeans called "The New Education," and there was an active "New Education Fellowship," affiliated with our "Progressive Education Association." Under its influence new private schools with very liberal philosophies had been founded and they were working out their ideas without restrictions. The idea of the child-centered school was popular and many of the more rigid methods of handling young children were being discarded even in the old and traditional schools. At that time many of the Infant Schools, for children from five to seven, were in old, insanitary buildings and the children spent long hours sitting in fixed seats, copying from blackboards and concentrating on the three R's. When I asked to visit Infant Schools I was welcomed into several which had adequate buildings and teachers with genuine understanding of young children. I happened to see, uninvited, several schools which were quite the opposite.

I visited at that time one private school in a London suburb which had been founded by a group of parents who wanted a more free and imaginative kind of education for their children. The children looked happy, healthy, and busy. The teachers were relaxed and informal and music and art were important and conspicuous. The parent who took me commented that her children loved school and were learning a great deal but that she wasn't sure that they would ever learn to write clearly or get into the good secondary schools.

In 1958 when I asked to visit Infant Schools I was welcomed by the Inspector for Infant Schools of the London County Council,

who suggested that she would like to show me a variety of schools, some notably good, some less good, some new, some old. I saw no schools for young children that did not have good physical conditions, even though some of those conditions had been achieved at high cost and had required great ingenuity. I saw rooms full of activity and evidences of lively interest. I saw teachers in good control of classes, working with children both as individuals and in groups. I saw teachers of various degrees of strictness, and classes behaving with varying degrees of noise and self-control. I saw rooms full of raw materials for creative work and evidence of good use of it. There were good collections of books in all class rooms. In short, I saw very much what I had seen in kindergartens and in first and second grades in schools of Philadelphia and its suburbs, and most of it I found excellent.

I was not able to return to the private school I described above. I inquired about it and was told by a parent whose ten year old daughter was about to leave it for boarding school that it was considered a very good school, now that it had learned to be more business-like and efficient about teaching the tool subjects and preparing for secondary schools, but that it had managed to keep its friendly informality and its emphasis on the arts. Then a bit hesitantly my friend said, "I think there is only one teacher there now who was there in 1928, and she is considered very old fashioned because she is so permissive."

Altogether I am inclined to think that English teachers have much the same kind of philosophy that American teachers have, if we can attribute any one philosophy to so large a group. They have profited as our teachers have by the twentieth century inquiries into the conditions that are most conducive to learning and health, and there is an assumption that a school can be effective even though it is pleasant and comfortable, and that children really want to learn. The same spirit of experiment and willingness to change has been apparent, but possibly carried out more slowly and cautiously, since that is England's way.

The secondary schools have found, as we have, that there is a large body of material to be covered and that systematic, concentrated work is necessary for that. Since the Education Act of 1944

was passed, the secondary schools have received a great deal of thought and money. That act provided not only for free education for all children to fifteen years of age, but for education in keeping with ability and aptitude.

The early Secondary Schools were established to prepare pupils for the universities and for the law and the church. The curriculum of these schools was basically classical, and often the teaching was in Latin. For centuries, the Grammar Schools followed this pattern, and many of them are still following it. There has been a belief in England that those who plan to work with tongue and pen should go to Grammar Schools, and that those who are going to work with their hands should attend Secondary Modern or Technical Schools. It has been hard to break down the assumption that intelligence and intellect are nurtured only by books. But England, like the rest of the world, is aware of the need for trained scientists and science has become an important part of the grammar school curriculum and is now actually superseding the classics in many schools. When Cambridge University abolished the Latin requirement for admission last spring, the classical tradition of the grammar schools received a body blow. Oxford followed by abolishing the Latin requirement also but then reconsidered. As far as I know, Oxford is still reconsidering the question. There is a strong faction there which worked to postpone the decision until further consideration of the effect on university and grammar school education could be given. Those fighting to hold on to the Latin requirement for admission felt that the United States had weakened its cultural position by dropping or lessening the requirement.

The prescription of the act of 1944 that secondary education should be provided in accordance with the ability and aptitude of the pupil made it necessary for England to reconstruct her whole secondary education system. Grammar schools had the prestige position and many parents felt that it was essential to their children's success in life to at least be admitted to a grammar school rather than a secondary modern or a technical school. But there was much evidence that all children did not profit by the classical education of the grammar school, and evidence that the secondary modern schools were actually inferior in buildings, equipment, and in the calibre

of the teachers. A long and far-reaching report, made by the Consultative Committee of the Board of Education in 1933, pointed out not only what was wrong with all kinds of secondary schools, but suggested remedies as well. In 1949 the Ministry of Education published a pamphlet, No. 9, which launched an extensive program for putting the secondary modern, and technical schools into a condition of parity with the grammar schools. Previously the grammar schools had had more space, larger budgets, and smaller classes. Ellen Wilkinson in her foreword to this report commented, "The prejudices of three hundred years cannot be eradicated by one Act of Parliament. . . . It will take a generation to implement fully this great scheme. . . . Everything to do with children must have room to grow. . . . The schools must have room to experiment."

It is this spirit that is apparent in English secondary education today. New buildings and new arrangements of buildings are going up, planned especially for those children who can learn best by other equipment than only books. Plans are being worked out to give well rounded education to those who must leave school at fifteen or sixteen and in some cases to give them training which will enable them to become wage earners on leaving school. Thought has also been given to those things in the curriculum that help to develop fine human beings and not just good workers.

A new kind of school, "The Comprehensive or the Multilateral School," has been developed. One large school may have a grammar school section, a secondary modern section, and a technical section. These three may be close together physically and may be so administered that a child entering one kind of school on finishing the Junior School at eleven years may transfer easily to another if the initial choice was unwise. Placing the three kinds of schools side by side makes for mingling of children taking the different kinds of work and does much to enhance the prestige of the secondary modern and technical schools.

Along with the reconstruction of the secondary school pattern came the need for ways of determining what kind of school would best fit the ability and aptitude of the individual child. The examination given, usually in January of the year before a child leaves the Junior School at eleven, is at present one of the most controversial issues in

English Education. It was one of the first subjects I heard talked about when I reached England and many Americans have asked me about it since my return. This examination is taken in one day in the child's own school room and is supervised by his own teacher. It consists of examinations in language and arithmetic and an intelligence test, all written. On the basis of the child's performance in this test, called "The Eleven Plus," he is assigned to a grammar school, secondary modern school, or a technical school. These assignments vary greatly in different parts of England. Some counties make the decision of the type of school a joint one made by parents and teacher. In some counties, parents may make requests which can be denied if the evidence is strong that a child is likely to do poorly in the type of school the parents ask for. In other cases, the headmaster of the Junior School makes firm recommendations.

I imagine that English parents will gradually learn to take the Eleven Plus examination more lightly as educators learn to interpret it more intelligently. At present it is almost the only phase of education that English people do not take tranquilly and patiently. A tradition of tutoring for the examinations has grown up and parents who can afford it and are very eager for their children to be admitted to grammar schools are likely to have them tutored during the Christmas vacation or even for several months in advance. The newspapers are full of advertisements of tutors. The bookstores carry practice books which give examinations of the type of the Eleven Plus examination. There are books of advice on how to prepare one's child for the examination, and they discuss both intellectual and emotional preparation. Altogether it seemed to me that the children had better attitudes toward the examinations than their parents. On the evening of the day of her Eleven Plus examination, my husband asked a ten year old girl how it went. She answered with real appreciation, "It was lovely."

The other important examination is the General Certificate Examination or "G.C.E.," taken towards the end of the secondary school, at sixteen or later. This is a series of subject-matter tests, with papers at three levels: Ordinary, Advanced and Scholarship. The results are used as a partial basis for admission to universities and to training and technical colleges.

Comparisons are often made between American and English children of the same age in favor of the English children. Compulsory school does start a year earlier in England, the school day is longer, usually nine to four, and there are fewer days of vacation, usually ninety-four days of vacation as compared with 116 in Pennsylvania. American children living in England are often placed with children a year younger who had had the same number of years of schooling. I had the experience last winter of knowing a fourteen year old American boy who was so placed in one of London's strictest grammar schools. By Christmas time, the headmaster informed the boy's parents that he thought it would be wise to move him up with boys his own age. By June he led the class. However comparisons work out, English education throughout seems to go more deeply into fewer subjects than do American schools. This may make for greater thoroughness and mastery. It may also only make for an appearance of greater thoroughness, as supporting subjects may often be missed.

Most of my comments have been based on the free schools of England, but no picture would be complete without at least opening up the subject of private or independent schools. England's earliest schools were all private and there is a strong feeling that the best schools are independent ones. Many English people make real sacrifices to send their children to what they consider a "good school," and that usually means an independent school, and very often a boarding school to which children are sometimes sent as young as eight years. We all have some notions of English boarding schools gained from literature. There have in the past been good ones and poor ones, but the chances of poor ones surviving today are very slim.

In the general reconstruction of the educational system following the Act of 1944, independent schools were required to register. They were then inspected and classified as "efficient" or required to register again each year for inspection. The inspection stressed both physical plant and educational accomplishment, and did much to bring schools up to or beyond the requirement of the Ministry of Education. Many schools were closed. In 1958, there were 4,400 independent schools in England, attended by 500,000 pupils, or about one in fifteen of the school-age population. Many of these schools

receive government grants, some of them very generous ones. In 1947, there were 982 independent schools classified as "efficient." In 1958, there were 1,486 on the "efficient" list.

Independent schools vary greatly in size and spirit. There are large endowed Public schools for boys like Eton, Harrow and Winchester, with long histories of educational and social prestige. There are small day schools owned and run by individuals, catering to young children in their own neighborhoods. There are a large number of small boarding schools, many of them on the southern coast, which provide healthy physical conditions, good social training and adequate intellectual work. There are Trusts like "The Boys Public Day School Trust" and its counterpart "The Girls Public Day School Trust," which administer schools in different parts of England, following patterns laid down by those who believe that there should be day schools offering to boys and girls the advantages of the Public Schools without the necessity for leaving home.

There are also organizations like P.N.E.U. (Parents' National Educational Union) which consists of schools in many parts of England and the colonies, subscribing to the same general philosophy and standards. From a visit to one of these schools and from acquaintance with a teacher in another, I got the impression these schools have a more informal and liberal attitude than many English schools and that they encourage intellectual adventurousness, artistic expression and spiritual development. There are also schools of long tradition, usually day schools for boys, established by the medieval guilds and still carried on by their descendants. The Haberdashers' School in London is an example. Intellectual achievement is high and discipline very strict in this kind of school. There are also the liberal co-educational schools like Bedales and the schools run by the Society of Friends.

Since England has a national religion, the schools teach that religion and schools are required to have daily services based on it. Most schools respect the beliefs of children of other denominations. It is possible for children of parents who object to Church of England indoctrination to be excused from services. There are, however, a number of schools maintained by other religious groups which receive grants from the government. Roman Catholic schools, for

instance, are likely to receive grants, covering up to 75% of the cost of operating the schools. At present no funds are available for building or improving religious schools. There is a good deal of pressure on Parliament to change that ruling to permit grants for building.

I hope that out of this miscellany of facts and impressions I have been able to give you a reasonably true account of what England has done and is trying to do for her children. The job of the Ministry of Education is complex and it requires both thought and financial support. However, even though faced with the enormous task of providing food and shelter for her people after six years of destructive war, England has not stinted her children physically, intellectually, or spiritually.

Constructive Leadership with the Aging

Conference Report

PHILIP A. BOYER*

A FULL-DAY WORKSHOP involved the active participation of representatives of the Housing Authority, Y.M.C. and H. A., Settlements, denominational, State and private Homes for the Aging, City, State and National Departments of Welfare, Golden Age Clubs, the Free Library, Public School Extension Education, and the Philadelphia Health and Welfare Council.

Formal presentations were made by Doctor Clark Tibbetts, U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, and by Doctor Merrill B. Conover, Education-Recreation Consultant, Philadelphia Area Health and Welfare Council.

Six separate discussion groups worked at intervals throughout the day in sharing experiences, developing policies and formulating principles of action.

* * *

UNDERSTANDING OLDER PEOPLE by CLARK TIBBETTS, U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare

There are two points of view regarding old age. One is that old age provides an opportunity for activity. The other point of view is that old age is a period of withdrawal from activity and community life.

The middle ground, a period in which older people can select the kind of activity they want is the one that most of us, working with older people, believe best.

* Chairman, Committee on Training for Leadership with the Aging, Health and Welfare Council.

There is a need for human activity, both biological and psychological. A human being is a stimulus-oriented individual looking for opportunities to be active. It is essential that an organism remain active in order to remain alive. Inactivity can and does lead to senility. Many people are now in hospitals because they had no opportunity to be active self-sufficient people. Proof of the importance of activity has been demonstrated. At Norristown State Hospital, Doctor Maurice Linden has brought people back from early senility. These people were taught to feed, wash and clothe themselves and were given physical exercises. A program of occupational therapy has also been instituted involving such activities as gardening, sewing and group discussions. Visits to the community in order to keep the patients in contact with others was also a part of the program.

Why is Aging a Problem?

Aging is a problem because there are changes both biological and psychological. There is a loss in speed, but on the other hand, there is an increased capacity for judgment gained by the accumulated experience of the past years.

We live in a society in which people work and have responsibility for families. Now old people retire with many years ahead of them. Having completed their responsibility to their families and having retired from work they are faced with the problem of how to use the remaining years. Leisure time is no longer a period of recuperation in preparation for going back to work, but part of life's experiences which we must now use for its own sake.

There are two stages of maturity. Middle age is the real turning point where people realize that the goals they set are nearing completion and in some instances being realigned. There is a restlessness over wondering how to use the remaining years. At this point many people begin to feel old age but do not think about it or plan for it.

The second stage of maturity comes with retirement from work and from the separation from children who now have their own responsibilities. This is a traumatic experience and older people can find themselves isolated unless there is opportunity for them to

remain in contact with community life. These two stages of maturity have been inserted into our life cycle by a technological economy. At one time we simply had adulthood and old age.

Basic Human Needs

1) There must be a way of occupying time to avoid boredom and 2) This occupation should give the individual a feeling of personal worth. It should help maintain his status in the community and the respect of his relatives and other people. Particularly important in old age is the need for continued social contact, security and self-sufficiency.

* * *

INFORMAL EDUCATION—THE PLUS FACTOR IN EDUCATIONAL PROGRAMS FOR OLDER PEOPLE by MERRILL B. CONOVER, *Education Recreation Consultant Health and Welfare Council of Philadelphia*

As more and more leisure time becomes available to the total population, increasing opportunities are being offered for recreational and informal educational programs. As the opportunities for recreation and leisure time activities expand, there is an increasing use of them being made by the elder citizens. The expansion of educational opportunities has also been impressive but the use has not kept pace with the expanded opportunity. However, studies made in Philadelphia by the Health and Welfare Council indicate that approximately the same range of interests is expressed by those over sixty as in any section of the population.

Content, physical facilities and setting, and methods of leadership are all extremely important but I would like to focus attention on the thesis that a fourth factor, namely *motivation for participation*, has been less carefully considered and may be the important key to any increase in the use of such facilities and programs.

One word about informal education. Only part of learning can take place in a formal educational setting. There we get basic

experience and learn how to study; we get the facts and content that are deemed essential to modern living. We acquire the framework but we must "put flesh on the bones" so to speak, by use in living. It is in the informal setting that the learnings of formal education and the learnings from living can best be synthesized. The informality, the relative lack of time pressure, the freedom to fit the subject to the participants (too often we do it the other way around), the ability to choose jointly setting and fellow participants, all make for an ideal learning atmosphere for older persons.

One of the factors influencing motivation is fear. And one of their big fears is the ability to learn after sixty. Recent research on ability to learn and perform indicates that ability does not decline as sometimes reported in the past. Ability with use holds constant, or increases in many instances. "Use" is a key word here. As motivation for learning declines for whatever reason, use of knowledge and skill declines. With the lack of use, ability declines and that further deadens motivation. One of the best ways to break this vicious circle is at the point of motivation.

Research also shows that not only can those over sixty learn, but that in general the adult population up to fifty years of age has confidence in the ability to learn but after that, confidence declines. We should note carefully, not ability, but confidence declines. This is one reason why motivation is so important. We need to let older people know we just assume they can learn; that it is expected of them. If it is an integral, natural part of our own attitude, it is catching. They respond to it.

There is also a fear of not being liked and accepted by the group, or fear of the ability to fit in and to be able to make a contribution. We expect these things in children's groups but we are somewhat prone to think of maturity and adulthood as synonymous. They are not. Maturity is a continuing process. As long as there is life, human beings either make progress or they deteriorate; there is no standing still.

The need for acceptance and achievement is just as important over sixty as it is under twenty, especially when the responsibility of job, family and community responsibilities are at a minimum or

absent altogether, and frequently these things happen close together. It is in the warmth of an informal setting that acceptance, mutual opportunity for making a contribution and receiving help, for sharing can be most meaningful at a time when it is most needed. For only a few people can the more formal educational setting meet these needs.

Sometimes the fear is of the ability to keep up with the younger person. This raises the question of the advisability of having separate groups for those over sixty. Undoubtedly there are times when this is advisable but I am not one who believes that this is an unmixed blessing. I have heard too many oldsters who have had the good fortune to have associations with younger people through teaching or other contacts, say that it keeps them mentally young; that it keeps their interest and keeps their motivation for active life high. Seeing their maturity of years and fruitful living balance the "book learning" of youth is a reassuring experience for them. We need both types of programs but we should never forget that segregation is not limited to race and religion, and its effects are just as disastrous in any situation.

Other important factors in motivation are complacency, passivity, and inertia. We all have the natural bent toward resisting change, and learning means change. It is much easier to follow the old paths until they become ruts. We need goals and objectives—some incentive, especially after the pressures of responsibility carried for years have been relaxed. Here is the opportunity of a lifetime to pick up hobbies, music, art and educational interests the individual has never really had time to pursue. Here the inner motivations become more important than outer pressures, for the pressures of work and the social world are no longer as important. The inner values built up over the years become more important in influencing our interests. This also means that informal education for older people must be individualized, since more learning has taken place and people are somewhat more set in their ways. However, the informal setting can make maximum use of learning accumulated over the years and keep to a minimum, the fears of failure and change. This is a time we can focus on enjoying the present—which

we very seldom take time to do. We seem to rush all our lives preparing for the future. When we reach sixty and above, this is the future we have been preparing for. What is being done with it? Obviously, no one approach can be the answer in itself. Life would be much simpler (but more boring) if it were possible. We need a variety of opportunities and we need to put much more thought on the factors of motivation in helping older citizens to make use of such programs. An informal atmosphere can add a real plus to the learning experiences of those whose years number sixty plus.

OBSERVATIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS OF SIX WORK-SHOP DISCUSSION GROUPS

I. *Training of Personnel Working with Older People*

- (1) Formal specialized education, informal, and on-the-job training are needed by professional as well as by volunteer leaders.
- (2) Frequent work-shops are necessary to point up needs and provide stimulus toward meeting them adequately. The group proposed another Schoolmen's Week program by the University of Pennsylvania for 1960.
- (3) Opportunities should be provided by Colleges for courses in Gerontology, Psychology, Sociology and constructive leadership.
- (4) Social Agencies might provide scholarships to encourage adequate training of volunteer leaders.

II. *Education for Aging*

- (1) Preparation for leisure, for retirement, for the later years should start early; the high-school age is when attitudes are formed.
- (2) Both formal and informal educational and recreational programs should stress self-realization, self-help, self-care.
- (3) The aging are individuals; they differ; no static program will meet their varying needs; a wide range of educational offering is called for.
- (4) Leaders should take a positive role of stimulation and

motivation to get the elderly started. Once going, older folk are often surprising.

III. *Community Relations*

- (1) Create a favorable community climate for the older person; develop better understanding of the aging process.
- (2) Educate public against built-in stereotypes about aging.

IV. *Community Services*

- (1) Provide *adequate income* through Social Security benefits, allowances for convalescent and nursing-home care, support for occupational therapy and rehabilitation.
- (2) Capitalize on the desire of many older persons to be *self-sustaining in their own homes* by coordinating and expanding Homemakers Services, Meals on Wheels, Visiting Nurse service, friendly visiting, medical home care, foster home care, rehabilitation programs, traveling library and part-time employment opportunities.
- (3) Develop and expand *Local Geriatric Centers* to provide integrated medical, physiological, psychological, social, recreational guidance for self-realization.
- (4) Expand appropriate *Housing facilities* for both individual and congregate living, with convenient facilities for safety, health and hospital service, shopping, church, recreation, and library.
- (5) Emphasize the importance of *working with the aging*. Recognize them as competent and worthy. Enhance their motive for living fully by letting them take responsibility in cooperative enterprises in which they are concerned. Self-governing councils in apartments and homes for the aging are as important as good sanitation.
- (6) Encourage and develop improved resources in the community for more adequate general and specialized *education and training of all leaders*, both professional and volunteer. Child psychology or adolescent psychology is no more necessary to parents and teachers of those developmental groups than is later Adult Psychology to the worker with older folk.

- (7) Explore all possible channels for stimulating complete and understanding cooperation with efforts to promote and to profit by the projected *White House Conference* due in January, 1961.

II

Administration

Utilization of the Staff in Secondary Schools

LESTER WELDON NELSON*

THE COMMISSION on the Experimental Study of the Utilization of the Staff in Secondary Schools was established by the National Association of Secondary-School Principals in the spring of 1956. The compelling fact underlying the creation of the Commission was the acute shortage of qualified teachers to staff our secondary schools. The Association believed the shortage of able teachers threatened serious erosion in the quality of education since the quality of learning is inseparably related to the quality of teaching. The specific purpose of the Commission has been to search for promising ways of improving utilization of the professional staff, and to support experimentation in secondary schools designed to discover and demonstrate new and better practices.

During the past three years, the Commission has supported experimental programs designed to test new practices in more than 100 junior and senior high schools in 11 states. It has prepared, published and distributed two major publications—*New Horizons for Secondary School Teachers* appearing in 1956 and *Images of the Future* published in January 1959, now in its third printing. In addition, the January issue of the Association's *Bulletin*, in 1958 and 1959, has been devoted primarily to interim or final reports on many of the experiments sponsored by the Commission. These four publications have had a distribution of more than 250,000 copies. Funds to support the activities of the Commission, maintain the Office of the Director and to support experimentation in the schools have exceeded \$700,000. These funds have come in grants to the National Association of Secondary-School Principals from the Fund for the Advancement of Education and the Ford Foundation. This amount will have

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grown to more than \$1,000,000 when the Commission concludes its activities in August, 1960, at the end of its planned four-year program.

The Commission has proceeded with a number of basic assumptions clearly in mind. It is important that these assumptions be recognized in any appraisal of the Commission's work. These assumptions include—

The quality of learning is primarily dependent on the quality of teaching.

The results of instruction depend largely upon the ways in which teachers function.

Methods must be related to the purposes of instruction.

Different levels of competence and training are needed for the various functions teachers now perform in the schools.

Teachers vary in their interests and abilities to perform the varied functions of teaching; these differences should be recognized.

Education must compete with other sectors of our society for the services of the ablest.

Improved salaries alone will not be enough to place education in a fair competitive position; improved settings for teaching and learning will be essential.

Better utilization of the competences of teachers is central to the improvement of settings for teaching and learning.

The Commission has been keenly aware of the significance for education of our world-wide and explosive forces—the explosion of energy, the explosion of population, the explosion of knowledge and the explosion of technology. These forces compel education to recognize its responsibility to provide educational opportunity for *vastly increased numbers of persons, for substantially longer periods of productive life at sharply heightened levels of skill and competence.* These responsibilities are not likely to be well met by adherence to existing practices and patterns, by mere addition and multiplication. They will require major changes in practice. If such changes are not to affect adversely the quality of education, they must constantly be appraised in terms of the role and function of the teachers in our

schools. An over-simplified statement of criteria against which to appraise changes would be their effectiveness in *enabling* teachers to function at the top level of their professional competence, for all or most of their time, for the benefit of more learners.

Much of what has been learned may be described more appropriately as rediscovery or reenforced support for much we already knew. The major value of the experimentation has been in providing added dimensions of the best of past practice, through demonstrations designed to utilize more fully the resources we have, and to test the many new resources which expanding knowledge and technology have made available.

EXPERIMENTATION WITH VARIABLE SIZE CLASSES

Our schools largely committed themselves to the questionable assumption that there is an optimum size of class. Much of our effort to improve the setting for teaching and learning has been devoted to reducing the size of classes. This effort, in turn, has rested on another assumption—namely, that the quality of learning is a function of numbers. The Commission has challenged this assumption and, in fact, has mounted experiments to test a different assumption, namely, *the quality of learning is a function of the kind of learning experiences provided*. Within the context of this assumption, the critical factor is not the size of the learning group but, rather, the dual importance of the specific purpose of the instruction and the appropriateness of the materials, methods and setting under which the instruction is given.

This thesis, ably set forth by Lloyd Trumb in *Images of the Future*, has developed largely out of the results of experiments sponsored by the Commission. It has been well demonstrated that highly effective teaching and learning does take place in classes as large as 200, if the conditions under which groups of this size are instructed are modified appropriately. To enlarge classes to anything like this size without modifying the conditions which have been developed for "normal" sized classes is senseless. By the same

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planning periods for teachers, more unscheduled time whose use can be determined by the teacher in terms of needs, and substantially more time for effective preparation. As the present imbalance between the proportion of teacher time devoted to repetitious, boring and essentially non-productive activities, compared with the time available for planning and preparation—as this imbalance is redressed, teachers are enabled to become more fully professional. The critical essence of this kind of change lies in its direct effect on improving instruction.

There is growing evidence that pursuit of such changes can achieve emancipation of teachers from entrapment in the rigid and unyielding structure of a school schedule. Comparison of past practice with present changes in one school presents the following picture. Under former practice, the typical teacher met five sections or classes of 25 to 30 pupils per day—a total of 25 teaching periods per week. Of the remaining 5 periods in the school week, 2 were used for supervisory activities and 3 were called "free" periods. Under present arrangements, the 30 periods are distributed essentially as follows: 10 periods are devoted to small group and individual instruction, 10 periods are devoted to instruction of groups ranging from 40 to 75 in size, 2 periods are devoted to supervisory activities, 8 periods are available for planning and preparation. The introduction of large group instruction has made it possible for the teacher to devote half of his direct instructional time to small groups and individual instruction and conference, compared with no such use of time previously. Furthermore, it has almost tripled the amount of time available for planning and preparation. These two changes have been effected without increasing the total time spent by the teacher in school, and without changing essentially the total number of pupils being taught by the teacher.

It must be noted, too, that such redeployment of time and numbers increases the opportunity for learners to assume greater responsibility for their own learning, thereby supporting motivation of the learner. It improves the opportunity of the teacher to identify blocks to learning; it enhances the evaluation of student performance by both the teacher and the learner.

TECHNOLOGICAL UTILIZATION

Mention has been made of the necessity to modify conventional methods of instruction and the materials or resources used if large group instruction is undertaken. Modern technological developments provide many new and largely unused resources for this purpose. We have been learning very rapidly that such new resources, when properly used, do not result in dehumanizing the educational process—rather, they become powerful means by which to humanize learning and professionalize teaching. We are slowly discovering that the skillful and imaginative use of such resources greatly improves motivation, releases much valuable time and energy of the teacher to do more effective teaching and, of equal importance, provides new and effective means for the learner to teach himself.

We are learning that technology is not something to be feared; rather, it is something to be welcomed and embraced. In essence, we have just as much reason to fear the use of books (based on the technology of movable type) as to fear other and more recent technological developments. The number of these is large and growing larger—films, kinescopes, audiotape, videotape, recordings, slides, filmstrips, combination tape and slides, radio, television, overhead projection, multiple screen projection, overlay projection, teaching machines, and numerous others. Each of these developments, and varied combinations of them, offer a very wide range within which to support teaching and learning. In the face of our continuing shortage of teachers and the enrollment explosion we shall continue to confront, we cannot afford to ignore these new resources, much less reject them.

We are discovering many effective means to use these new resources. Television, radio, films, projection are effectively supporting large group instruction; films, tapes, and projection are making individual and small group learning increasingly possible; each of these developments is bringing new materials into the classroom. The traditional concept of the library as a repository of books, whose use is too often illegalized by the restrictive rules imposed by schools, is being replaced by the concept of a learning resource

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center wherein modern technological resources have an increasingly important place.

If learning is an individual matter—and we believe it to be—then the responsibility for learning is individual and personal to the learner. Anything which encourages and supports increasing assumption of responsibility for learning by the individual is desirable. Commission-sponsored experimentation is clearly disclosing the contribution which use of modern technological developments can make to this end. The same experimentation strongly suggests, too, that we must find ways to increase the range, variety, kinds and amount of resources for learning which are provided for students. These resources must be made more readily accessible for use by students. The role of the teacher in such developing situations becomes increasingly that of the consultant and resource person.

USE OF NON-PROFESSIONAL PERSONNEL

The ways in which schools typically use the competences of teachers are bound to certain premises which have become well nigh sacrosanct. Among these premises are two which the Commission's work has strongly challenged. *First*, the premise that all teachers are alike. *Second*, the premise that teachers must do all things required to be done in the orderly operation of a school. To be sure, we most often disclaim these commitments when challenged but, in practice, teachers are typically assigned to virtually identical roles so far as instructional load, numbers of students, hours of teaching and so on are concerned. Furthermore, these assignments tend to recognize little priority between those activities which are professional and those which are primarily clerical, accounting, custodial and so on. To each teacher falls so nearly as equitable portion of the total job as existing formulae and practices permit.

The hard, cold fact is that teachers typically expend an inordinate proportion of their time and energy in doing things which, by no reasonable criterion of appraisal can be thought of as professional. To the extent that teachers are required to spend time and effort on non-professional activities, teachers are not professionals and teaching is not a profession. If the quality of education depends

primarily on the quality of teaching, anything that reduces the opportunity of teachers to function professionally is a direct threat to the quality of education. There is no moral justification, much less professional reason, for thus arbitrarily placing a ceiling on the quality of teaching.

One of the most clearly demonstrated outcomes of current experimentation is the improvement in learning which occurs when teachers are relieved of non-professional responsibilities. Imaginative use of technology makes a substantial contribution here, as has been stated. Equally important and, in many situations, more readily possible, is the contribution made through use of non-professional personnel for non-professional tasks. Probably no community in America lacks personnel resources which can be tapped and used for many such non-professional needs. Teacher aides, school aides, clerical, accounting and reportorial personnel, lay-readers working under professional supervision—these are only a few of the kinds of non-professionals which schools in many places are using to good effect. The evidence is too clear in this area to allow reasonable doubt to exist; the testimony of teachers, in schools where such personnel are working, is even more convincing with respect to the value of such personnel.

TEACHING TEAMS

The concept of teaching teams is relatively new and, for this reason more than any other, the value of teaching teams is less well documented. Where teaching teams have been developed during the past three to five years, a wide range of practices is being tested. Generally speaking, regardless of the particular pattern followed, the results give strong promise of improved teaching and improved learning. The teaching team most often is composed of two or more professionally-trained teachers working together in planning, instructing and evaluating. With increased frequency, the teaching team concept is being widened to include both professional and non-professional personnel, each member of the team having specialized responsibilities in the total of instruction as well as sharing with others the general responsibility for planning and teaching. Usually

one member of the team functions as the team leader. One pattern consists of a highly competent, experienced teacher, a professionally qualified but inexperienced teacher, a teaching intern not yet fully qualified professionally, and a full-time or part-time non-professional person. Another pattern uses only fully qualified professionals supported by some non-professional assistance. The combination of skills and competences of each member of the team becomes a resource for each of the students being instructed by the team. Not only does the quality of learning improve under such arrangements but, of equal importance, the equality of opportunity for effective learning also improves.

Interpreting Tests Realistically

SCARVIA B. ANDERSON*

TESTING IS A COMMUNICATIONS PROBLEM. As with all communications problems, it can best be attacked by thorough analysis of *who* needs to know what, why.

My first job at ETS was to prepare the manuals for the new School and College Ability Tests (SCAT) and the Sequential Tests of Educational Progress (STEP). As I gradually worked my way through the materials on file, it became apparent that while they were all devoted to helping people use the tests, just *who* those people were and *what* kinds of backgrounds could be assumed for them was vague. When we got through trying to analyze the "who" problem, we came up with a set of publications about SCAT and STEP which didn't resemble any set of test publications that had gone before.

I am not here today to sell SCAT and STEP. But I know more about these tests than any others, and it will be convenient for me to use SCAT and STEP materials developed from the communications point of view to illustrate this way of looking at the testing process.

The basic line of communication in testing must be between the test itself and the student—though, depending on the test, the student may need some help from the examiner in interpreting what the test means for him to do. Tests used to look very dull and forbidding. Now many of them are slicked up in terms of color and design. We think and hope that the very appearance of the test says something to the student. Certainly our Madison Avenue friends learned years ago that the looks of the package has something to do with the acceptability of the product in the package. But looks are only

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skin-deep. What other characteristics must the test and the directions for taking it have in order that the student knows and does what he's supposed to do?

They must let the student know whether he's to guess or not.

They must let him know how fast he has to work.

They must be written in language he can understand.

They must not contain ambiguities like this item which Professor Hoffman presented in his somewhat misguided article in last spring's *American Scholar*.

Emperor is the name of

(a) a string quartet

(b) a piano concerto

(c) a violin sonata

(Music sophisticates who know Haydn's Emperor Quartet will immediately see the difficulty here.)

The test must not confuse him by its format. He must understand when he's to turn a page, when he's not to turn a page. We at ETS feel that he shouldn't have to turn a page in the middle of an item or a reading-comprehension passage; it seems to make his job a little bit harder.

In most cases, the examiner has some part in the proper communication of the test to the student. He has to schedule the testing, have the appropriate materials—and enough of them—at hand, and read the directions for taking the test. For most paper-and-pencil tests, the examiner does not have to know all about tests and measurements, and during the administration of the tests he shouldn't have to be concerned with doing anything but administering the tests exactly according to the standard form. For SCAT and STEP we have deliberately placed in a separate publication the "cookbook" instructions used by the examiner. In fulfilling this function, he is essentially acting as a clerk (even though he may be the school counselor or principal, or a distinguished science teacher.)

Now the student, understanding what he has to do, we hope, communicates his answers to the answer sheet where they are kept in a sort of permanent way. Who's the next person in the communications chain? The scorer. Whether he's scoring by hand or machine he needs the simplest kinds of directions so that the numbers put

down for each student are fair to that student. It's pretty terrifying when you think that the entire evaluation of a student might come into question because of a misplaced digit. Again, we have the separate SCAT and STEP *Directions for Administering and Scoring*.

After the students' scores have been recorded, we get to the part of the business which is the most fun for most of us: interpreting their scores, ascribing some meaning to them. Here is the first instance where the technical background of the school person using a test comes into question. Have you had a number of upper-level courses in tests and measurements? How about the principal or teacher who wants to know about the tests but doesn't have that background? For these sincere people, we offer the *Manual for Interpreting Scores*. It starts off with such racy sections as "What is a percentile rank?," "What is a norms table?," "How is an appropriate norms table selected?," and ends on the exciting note "How do you construct local norms?" It doesn't anywhere mention standard errors of measurement. But if you look in the norms tables at the back of the book, you will note that each score is supplied with not one but a pair of percentile values. In other words, the publisher has done the work and computed standard errors of measurement so that percentiles covering the student's most likely "true" standing can be provided.

You can well imagine that, if you gave a student the same test over and over again in absolutely equivalent forms, he would not earn the same score every time. He would earn himself a little (or maybe a big) distribution of scores—some higher, some lower, and some in between. The mean or average of that distribution would be taken as his "true" score. When you give a test only once, you have to make allowance for the fact that the student's obtained score and his "true" score probably aren't the same. Thus, instead of considering that Johnny's mathematics score is exactly 68, you say it is somewhere between 62 and 74 or between the 50th and 65th percentiles.

But can you count on the person who is untrained in tests and measurements to make this sophisticated interpretation—that is, without a little help? Aren't some school people, without thinking, likely to say that Johnny's better than Mary because Johnny earned

a score of 68 and Mary earned only 65. The SCAT and STEP *Manuals* force confidence-level interpretations on test scores. Can you arrange it in your own school so that only bands of percentiles or scores, instead of single points, are presented for *all* your tests?

An important consideration here is that each time a test interpreter has a chance to write down a percentile rank or band he should have to put down a note about the norms group on which the rank is based, for after all it is the norms group which gives meaning to a percentile score. The SCAT and STEP answer sheets, profiles, and other reports all make this provision. Have you ever come across a pristine, unexplained percentile on a cumulative record? You didn't know whether Johnny stood at the 70th percentile for the 7th grade in his school or in the publisher's sample, or perhaps his standing was in terms of 10th graders. While we are concentrating on communications, the addition of norms specifications to our written test records is a helpful kind of information for people we want to communicate with the *future* as well as the present.

There are special pieces of information which the school administrator wants to derive from the score report: how students in his school stand with respect to students from other schools, percentages of high ability students for whom special educational provision may have to be made, etc.

There are also special pieces of information which the teacher wants to get from the tests. He wants to know not only what scores his students made, but also what kinds of questions they missed and what kinds of questions they got right, as an aid to his instructional planning. In studying this special need for information with STEP, we decided to issue a separate *Teacher's Guide* in which each item of each test is classified by the skills, abilities, concepts, understandings, types of materials, and/or subject matter it was designed to measure. Now a subscore—on geometrical concepts, say, in a mathematics test—based on only 10 items is not reliable enough to justify such judgments as "This student doesn't know anything about geometry." But suppose the majority of the students in a class missed all 10 of these items. The teacher might decide it was important to spend a little more time on instruction in this area. This is what we call "classroom analysis of a test," and what we

advocate for detailed understanding of performance on most of the achievement tests available today.

In your school, do the teachers have a chance to examine carefully each item of each test in their field and check the students' responses to it? Test results weren't meant to be locked up in safes but were meant to be studied by each person concerned in order that the maximum benefits can be obtained from them.

If you have some background in tests and measurements, you receive information about test results in the light of a more detailed knowledge of the standardization procedures used with the test and the published information on reliability, validity, etc. If you use our SCAT or STEP you have the full information provided by a fourth publication, the *Technical Report*, and its supplements.

We feel that it is an unnecessary hindrance to hand this book full of statistical tables, formulae, and technical words to the average teacher or school person with no measurement training. They get so bogged down in all the detail that they don't get on with the more important job of doing something constructive about the test results.

We think it is better to leave it up to trained staff members or consultants to interpret where necessary the statistical bases for a test:

1. The construction and pretesting of items—pretesting to determine how difficult each item is and whether it discriminates between high- and low-ability people.
2. The equating of alternate forms of the test and adjacent levels, where appropriate.
3. The norming of the tests. According to what criteria was the norming sample selected?
4. The validity of the tests, in terms of correlations with school success, other tests, etc.
5. The reliability of the tests, the stability of measurements made with them.

Remember, I started with the basic communications relationship between the test material and the student. Now we have come full circle back to the second most important communications link in the testing process, that between the test interpreter and the student, the discussion of what he did on the test.

If some principals and teachers have trouble interpreting the error in a test score, what could you expect if you gave the student a cold, hard number to try to deal with? We feel that, for guidance, a student and his parents would be confused to know much more than that he is in the upper quarter of some specific group on a test or that 7 out of 10 students in a specific group did better than he did. For SCAT and STEP, the result of this feeling is the Student Report. It shows each student's test standing pictorially in terms of 10 little students from his group. Interpretation goes like this: In the kinds of ability measured by STEP Social Studies, 7 out of 10 students in your grade in the nation are lower and only 1 out of 10 is higher than you are. Students' standings are represented by the same percentile bands mentioned earlier. But as far as the student and his parents are concerned, there is no mention of "standard errors," or "percentiles." Nor is there any reference to "means" or—most important of all—that most misinterpreted of all testing concepts, "I. Q."

In talking about testing in communications terms, I have suggested seven major "who's" involved in the process:

1. The *student*, himself, who needs to understand, first, the test and then what the test results mean to him.
2. The *parent*, who, we hope, has almost equal interest in how the student came out.

For these two, we have felt that a special regular means of communicating test results should be provided: the SCAT-STEP Student Report.

3. The *examiner*, who needs a set of clear "cookbook" directions to follow in planning for administration and administering the test properly.
4. The *scorer*, who needs directions which will minimize as far as possible any errors in test scores.

For these two, we have developed separate SCAT and STEP *Directions for Administering and Scoring*.

5. The *school administrator* or other staff member without a strong tests-and-measurements background, who needs safeguards built right into the interpretive scheme with which he is provided.

For him, we have the *SCAT and STEP Manuals for Interpreting Scores*.

6. The *teacher*, who wants particular information which will help him in his teaching.

For him, the *STEP Teacher's Guide*.

7. The *counselor* or other staff member trained in tests and measurements, who needs the statistical justifications for the tests.

For him, the *SCAT and STEP Technical Reports*.

The Changing Role of the Federal Government in Education

MADALINE KINTER REMMLEIN*

THE EXTENT, if any, that the role of government in education has changed through federal court decisions depends upon the time span considered and also on one's perspective.

The federal courts have been charged with a changed role in many areas. On educational issues, they have followed the same tendencies evidenced on other questions. Therefore, to evaluate the role in education properly it should be discussed in the framework of changes that have come about in other aspects of our life. Because of this pertinence, I shall begin with some generalizations and then relate these generalizations to education, by illustrations in three specific areas: religious freedom, segregation, and loyalty of school personnel.

What seems to depict a change in the role of the federal government rests on judicial interpretations of the Constitution. There has been no change in the principle that the federal judiciary has power to declare a federal or state law unconstitutional. That principle was first announced in 1803 by Mr. Chief Justice Marshall.¹ Through a number of cases decided before 1825, the principle became firmly established. Interpreting constitutional provisions to determine the validity of any legislative or executive action is not a new function of the federal courts. It is the way the federal judiciary has interpreted certain constitutional provisions, not the fact that it makes interpretations, that has led to what is called its changing role. When the Court decides that the Constitution has been violated in a particular case,

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¹ *Marbury v. Madison*, 5 U.S. (1 Cranch) 137 (1803).

those who dislike the decision pound their fists and say "The framers of the Constitution did not intend the provision to have such a meaning."

However, courts have always recognized the need to interpret the Constitution in the light of situations existing at the time a decision is rendered—not necessarily in the light of conditions existing at the time its provisions or amendments were adopted. In 1907, Charles E. Hughes said "We are under a Constitution, but the Constitution is what the judges say it is." In 1908, Woodrow Wilson said "The Constitution was not meant to hold the government back to the time of horses and wagons."

My conclusion on the changing role of the government in education can be stated very simply: *Changing conditions have caused changes in interpretation of certain constitutional provisions.* A good example may be found outside the field of education. The Constitution forbids cruel and unusual punishments, but what would today be considered cruel and unusual might have been quite acceptable at the end of the eighteenth century. Courts must keep up to date, lagging only sufficiently to be certain that an apparent cultural change is deeprooted in our way of life and not just a passing fad.

In my opinion, whatever change may be attributable to the federal judiciary has come about from two tendencies: emasculation of the Tenth Amendment and a broadened application of the Fourteenth Amendment.

THE TENTH AMENDMENT²

Education is a power reserved to the states under the Tenth Amendment; but the Tenth Amendment has lost its force to the extent that the general welfare clause³ has been interpreted more broadly. Historically, decisions of the Court may be classified into three eras:

²The Tenth Amendment reads as follows: "The powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution, nor prohibited by it to the States, are reserved to the States respectively, or to the people."

³The general welfare clause, Art I, sec. 8, reads as follows: "The Congress shall have Power . . . (18) To make all Laws which shall be necessary and proper for carrying into Execution the foregoing Powers, and all other Powers vested by this Constitution in the Government of the United States, or in any Department or Officer thereof."

(1) the first nineteen years after adoption of the Tenth Amendment, (2) the next one hundred years, and (3) the past twenty-two years.

The Tenth Amendment was adopted in 1808, and, in cases decided by the Supreme Court of the United States from then until 1837, the prevailing point of view was that the federal government has implied powers in areas not expressly delegated to it by the Constitution. This view was based on the historic point that the word expressly had not been included in the Tenth Amendment, and that, therefore, the federal government had powers reasonably to be implied from those expressly delegated to it.

Following this early period, the Supreme Court interpreted the Tenth Amendment, from 1837 to 1937, in such a way that the state governments ruled almost supreme in all areas not specifically delegated to the federal government. Gradual inroads developed only in the field of commerce. It was the depression of the 1930's that brought an end to this period, after at least six important cases, decided in 1935 and 1936, held that federal legislation to alleviate the effects of the depression were congressional invasions of state sovereignty.⁴

So, the pendulum swung again. Beginning in 1937, the power of Congress was extended under the general welfare clause and in 1941 the Court said "The [Tenth] Amendment states but a truism that all is retained which has not been surrendered."⁵ Later cases almost ignored the Tenth Amendment.⁶ In practically every area since then, the Court has permitted exercise of federal power to overrule state power except where the Constitution forbids congressional action.⁷ This evolution during the past twenty-two years grew out of a

⁴ *Schechter Poultry Corporation v. United States*, 295 U.S. 495 (1935); *United States v. Constantine*, 296 U.S. 287 (1935); *Hopkins Federal Saving and Loan Association v. Cleary*, 296 U.S. 315 (1935); *Butler v. United States*, 297 U.S. 1 (1936); *Carter v. Carter Coal Company*, 298 U.S. 238 (1936); *Ashton v. Cameron County Water Improvement District No. 1*, 298 U.S. 513 (1936).

⁵ *Darby v. United States*, 312 U.S. 100 (1941).

⁶ See Walter F. Dodd, "The Decreasing Importance of State Lines," *American Bar Association Journal*, Vol. 27, pp. 78-84, February 1941; A. H. Feller, "The Tenth Amendment Retires," *American Bar Association Journal*, Vol. 27, pp. 223-227, April 1941.

⁷ As with respect to the militia and transportation or importation of intoxicating liquors.

recognition of changes that have taken place in America—the Court could not close its eyes to the interdependence of people who live in various geographical parts of the country or to the effect of the shrinking world on our political and social philosophy.

My first premise, then, is: the argument that, because public education is a state function, it is not to be interfered with by the federal government has become a weak reed upon which to lean.⁸ Even in a matter which remains a state function, the federal government has power to exercise some control over the states by invalidating through judicial decisions any action which violates the Constitution. The Federal Constitution is the supreme law of the land⁹ and Supreme Court interpretations of it are also the supreme law of the land.¹⁰

THE FOURTEENTH AMENDMENT¹¹

What may seem like new interpretations of constitutional provisions, suggesting that the federal government is taking an increased role in areas which were formerly thought to be states' rights, developed from another direction also; i.e., the adoption of the Fourteenth Amendment in 1868—but particularly from the interpretation of the Amendment as imposing upon the states all the restrictions of the Bill of Rights though the Bill of Rights specifically refers only to acts of Congress and the Amendment does not refer to the Bill of Rights.¹² This interpretation required reassessment of state legislation touching on liberties guaranteed by the Bill of Rights.

* See expansion of this premise in Madeline Kinter Remmlein, "Hamilton vs. Madison—1959 Version," *School Executive*, Vol. 20, pp. 64-68, October 1959.

⁸ U.S. Constitution, Art. VI, sec. 2.

⁹ A recent statement to this effect appears in *Cooper v. Aaron*, 78 S. Ct. 1401 (1958).

¹⁰ Section 1 of the Fourteenth Amendment reads in part as follows: "No State shall make or enforce any law which shall abridge the privileges or immunities of citizens of the United States; nor shall any State deprive any person of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law; nor deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws."

¹¹ See Walter F. Dodd, *Cases and Materials on Constitutional Law*. St. Paul: West Publishing Co., 1949, Ch. 8, "Constitutional Provisions Affecting the Rights of Individuals, Relations between 14th and First Eight Amendments," especially pp. 800-803.

Furthermore, the 1941 announcement of the Four Freedoms to be the right of all peoples of the world must have influenced the Court to find more freedoms for our own citizens. The United States is committed to equality. Theoretically, it always has been; but part of what seems like a change in the role of the federal government rests upon the fact that equality has been given a broader yet more definite meaning—that our country may be looked upon as a model in less favored parts of the world.

I come now to illustrations in the field of education and will begin with religious freedom.

RELIGIOUS FREEDOM AND THE PUBLIC SCHOOLS

The First Amendment contains two clauses relating to religious freedom. It states: "Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof. . . ." Remember that this Amendment is part of the Bill of Rights now restricting the states as well as Congress.

Several aspects of our educational program have caused decisions which, in turn, have caused changes in school programming so as to meet the dictates of the religious freedom clauses of the First Amendment. It is not necessary to go back to the case declaring that private schools have a right to exist;¹³ that case, often cited as an example of the protection of religious liberty, actually involved much more. I shall discuss cases on the flag salute, aid to sectarian education, and released time for religious instruction.

Compulsory flag salute.—The suggestion that school pupils salute the American flag was made in 1892 to commemorate the four-hundredth anniversary of the landing of Columbus. During World War I the voluntary character of the flag salute was changed, and many laws or regulations made it compulsory. These requirements were not challenged until 1937. Then, Jehovah's Witnesses disapproved, saying that to salute the flag was to bow down before a graven image, forbidden in the Book of Exodus which they interpret literally. Children who refused to salute the flag were expelled

¹³ *Pierce v. Society of Sisters; Pierce v. Hill Military Academy*, 268 U.S. 510 (1925).

from public schools; their parents were charged with contributing to the delinquency of a minor because non-attendance resulted in a violation of the compulsory attendance laws; children were threatened with commitment to reformatories. After many state decisions upholding the requirement,¹⁴ the issue reached the Supreme Court of the United States in 1940. That case came from Pennsylvania.¹⁵

The Court was concerned about passing on the propriety of an educational policy—it did not discuss the possible invasion of religious liberty rights of Jehovah's Witnesses, but upheld the requirement primarily on the theory that national unity and patriotism demanded certain sacrifices of *any* freedom. That was at the beginning of World War II and patriotism was a paramount consideration.

Then, the Four Freedoms were announced in 1941 and the United States held itself out to the world as the harbinger of freedom for the people of other nations. Anti-Semitic abuses in Germany made religious freedom one of the most important for the United States to protect. When the second flag salute case came to the Supreme Court several years later, it overruled its earlier decision and held that requiring children to salute the flag against their religious beliefs is an invasion of religious freedom guaranteed by the First Amendment.¹⁶ The strength of national unity and patriotism were said not to be dependent upon little children saluting the flag. The requirement was thought to be immaterial to patriotism, especially in view of the fact that conscientious objectors in the Army had been relieved of combat duty. *This decision required a change in the educational program of many schools.*

Aid to sectarian schools.—The first clause of the First Amendment prohibits the establishment of religion. In the early days, this clause was thought to mean only that the Nation should not establish an official church. Jefferson coined the figure of speech "a wall of separation between church and state." From the beginning, aid to one or all church groups was considered invalid. With changes in our society, the question became—not, whether aid *can*

¹⁴ Madaline Kinter Remmlein, "Constitutional Implications of Compulsory Flag Salute Statutes," *George Washington Law Review*, Vol. 12, pp. 70-80, December, 1943.

¹⁵ *Minersville School District v. Gobitis*, 310 U.S. 586 (1940).

¹⁶ *West Virginia State Board of Education v. Barnette*, 319 U.S. 624 (1943).

be given, but what *constitutes* aid which benefits, and therefore tends to establish, a particular religious group.

In 1930 the Supreme Court upheld a Louisiana statute providing free textbooks for children attending parochial schools.¹⁷ Use of public funds for these books did not constitute aid, said the Court, because it was for the benefit of the children and not of the schools they attend. In 1947 the Court applied practically the same theory to transportation at public expense of New Jersey children attending parochial schools.¹⁸ In the New Jersey case the Court agreed that "the wall must be kept high and impregnable," but the majority held that New Jersey had not breached the wall.

You may or may not agree that textbooks and transportation at public expense furnished to parochial-school pupils is aid to sectarian education. Nevertheless, those who dislike those decisions cannot prove that they demonstrate a change in the role of the federal judiciary on educational questions, because we do not know how the earlier courts would have decided these questions since they arise from relatively modern aspects of education. We do know, however, that (1) the 1947 decision followed the reasoning of the 1930 case—no change in that seventeen-year period—and, (2) in both cases the Court took into consideration certain aspects of our current life and attempted to interpret the constitutional provisions in the light of modern situations.

These decisions have had little effect on the educational program. States where textbooks and transportation had been furnished to parochial-school pupils received support from the ruling that such activities do not violate the Federal Constitution; but states which had held that these activities violate their state constitutions were not required to furnish these services to parochial-school pupils, and at least one state court continued to deny the right of parochial-school pupils to use public-school buses, regardless of the New Jersey decision.¹⁹

Released time plans.—Two released time cases have been before the Supreme Court. Several questions were at issue. Does the released

¹⁷ *Cochran v. Louisiana State Board of Education*, 281 U.S. 370 (1930).

¹⁸ *Everson v. Board of Education of Ewing Township*, 330 U.S. 1 (1947).

¹⁹ *Visser v. Nooksack Valley School District*, 207 P. (2d) 198 (Wash.) (1949).

time plan interfere with religious liberty by the grouping of children for religious education not always exactly following the specific tenets of their own beliefs? That is, since children were usually grouped as Protestants, Catholics, or Jews, differences within each group were ignored. Does the plan aid one or several religious sects to the disadvantage of other sects whose members are not of sufficient number to warrant a separate group? Does the plan discriminate against those who have no church affiliation?

The weekday church school was inaugurated in 1913. Religious leaders developed a program to use some of the public-school time for religious instruction. The concept of released time was born to overcome the obstacle of the "wall" which prohibits religious education as part of the public-school curriculum. Many different kinds of released time plans were in use by the date the first case came before the Supreme Court.

The Champaign, Illinois, schools set aside one period each week at which time religious teachers, employed by the Council of Religious Education, came to the public schools and instructed pupils in religion. All but one of the nine justices of the Court agreed that the school board had violated the First Amendment.²⁰ They said:

"Here not only are the state's tax-supported public school buildings used for the dissemination of religious doctrines. The State also affords sectarian groups an invaluable aid in that it helps to provide pupils for their religious classes through use of the State's compulsory public school machinery. This is not separation of Church and State."

This decision, coming as it did just a year after the New Jersey bus case, clarified the issue only to this extent: the Court considered the Champaign released time plan aid to the religious groups holding classes and therefore prohibited by the Federal Constitution, but did not consider it aid to the church for public funds to be used to transport children to a church school. No change occurred in the philosophy that the "wall must be kept high and impregnable." On a different set of facts, the Court classified one situation as being aid and the other as not being aid.

²⁰ *Illinois ex rel. McCollom v. Board of Education*, 333 U.S. 203 (1948).

Four years later the Court upheld the New York City released time plan because it "involves neither religious instruction in public school buildings nor the expenditure of public funds."²¹ New York State law authorizes absence from school for religious observances and education. The Court was of the opinion that the legal issue was the same regardless of whether such an absence occurred "occasionally for a few students, regularly for one, or pursuant to a systematized program." Though the Court felt that there was implied coercion impinging on religious liberty in the Champaign program, it found none in the New York City plan.

As mentioned before, there are many different kinds of released time plans. Some which continued in operation after the Champaign decision may be unconstitutional and may be challenged in the future. Some programs were discontinued as a result of the Champaign decision, even though they appeared to be constitutional. Some plans were changed after the Champaign decision, to remove the classes from public-school premises. After the New York City decision, some released time programs which had been discontinued were modified and reinstated, modeled on the New York plan.

By invalidating the compulsory flag salute and use of public-school buildings for religious instruction, the Court changed some educational programs in order to protect the religious liberty of minority groups.

SEGREGATION

The so-called segregation cases of 1954 and 1955 should have been no surprise to any who had followed the judicial history of race relations in the United States during the past three-fourths of a century. As early as 1879 the Court held that selection for jury service could not be based on race.²² In 1948 restrictive covenants between private persons for segregated housing were held to be unenforceable in court.²³

Beginning in 1938 the Court whittled away at segregation in higher

²¹ *Zorach v. Clauson et al.*, 343 U.S. 306 (1952).

²² *Stauder v. West Virginia*, 100 U.S. 303 (1879).

²³ *Shelley v. Kraemer*, 334 U.S. 1 (1948).

education. During the next twelve years, these cases established a new definition of equality by the following expansion; offering Negro law students tuition scholarships to study in other states, because no facilities were available for them within the state, was said not to provide them equal opportunities;²⁴ a law school supported by state funds and open to Negro students was held not to furnish them equal protection of the laws because the facilities of the Negro school were obviously inferior to those of the law school which white students could attend;²⁵ requiring a Negro student to occupy a specified classroom seat in a row reserved for Negroes, study at a separate table in the library, and eat at a separate table in the school cafeteria was held to be denial of the equal protection of the laws.²⁶

By this time—1950—the Court had departed from consideration solely of physical facilities, quality of instruction, and tangible evidences of inequality to reach its decisions on the fact that separation of a student from others “impair[s] his ability to study, to engage in discussions and exchange views with other students. . . .”

In the meantime, the lower federal courts had passed upon physical facilities and other tangible evidences of inequality in elementary and secondary schools, and in junior colleges.²⁷ None of these cases reached the Supreme Court, but, in the higher education cases considered by it, the Court had defined equality in such a way as to make it practically impossible for a school system to provide “separate but equal” opportunities without encountering difficulty under the Court’s interpretation of the Constitution. The lower courts appeared to be increasingly reluctant to apply the “separate but equal” doctrine. The formerly acceptable standard of “substantial” equality came nearer and nearer to a standard of real

²⁴ *Missouri ex rel. Gaines v. Canada*, 305 U.S. 337 (1938).

²⁵ *Sweatt v. Painter*, 339 U.S. 629 (1950).

²⁶ *McLaurin v. Oklahoma State Regents*, 339 U.S. 637 (1950).

²⁷ *E.G., Corbin v. Country School Board, Pulaski County, Va.*, 177 F. (2d) 924 (C.C.A. 4th, 1949); *Carter v. School Board of Arlington County, Va.*, 182 F. (2d) 531 (C.C.A. 4th, 1950); *Brown v. Ramsey et al.*, 185 F. (2d) 225 (C.C.A. 8th, 1950); *Winborne et al. v. Taylor et al.*, 195 F. (2d) 649 (C.C.A. 4th, 1952); *McSwain et al. v. County Board of Education*, 104 F. Supp. 861 (E.D. Tenn., 1952); *Wichita Falls Junior College District et al. v. Battle et al.*, 204 F. (2d) 632 (C.C.A. 5th, 1953).

equality, although separateness *per se* was not considered inequitable because of the *Plessy v. Ferguson* case of 1896.²⁹

In the cases eventually decided by the Court in 1954, it found that facilities, quality of instruction, and such things in the Negro schools concerned in these five districts were equal to those of the schools for white students. Therefore, the Court was faced with the direct question of whether Negro children were being denied their constitutional right to equal protection of the laws under the Fourteenth Amendment, merely by being separated from white children. For this reason, the Court postponed its decision until counsel on both sides could file statements giving their opinions as to whether the Fourteenth Amendment was intended by its framers to proscribe separate but equal educational opportunities. In the words of Mr. Chief Justice Warren, "the evidence is inconclusive." Necessarily so, because when the Fourteenth Amendment was adopted in 1868 public school systems for either race had not evolved to any extent in the South.

The 1954 decision that separateness, of itself, constitutes inequality rested on the sociological and psychological effects on the Negro children of being forced by law to attend schools apart from others of the same age and qualifications.³⁰ It "generates a feeling of inferiority as to their status in the community that may affect their hearts and minds in a way unlikely ever to be undone" said the Court. The Court ably illustrated its practice of interpreting the Constitution in the light of today's way of life when it said:

"In approaching this problem, we cannot turn the clock back to 1868 when the Amendment was adopted, or even to 1896 when *Plessy v. Ferguson* was written. We must consider public education in the light of its full development and its present place in American life throughout the Nation. . . . Whatever may have been the extent of psychological knowledge at the time of *Plessy v. Ferguson*, this finding is amply supported by modern authority."

This decision clearly shows how changes in the times affect the Court's decisions. It did not need to decide that the framers of the

²⁹ *Plessy v. Ferguson*, 163 U.S. 537 (1896).

³⁰ *Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka*, and other cases, 347 U.S. (1954); *Bolling et al. v. Sharpe et al.*, 347 U.S. 497 (1954).

Fourteenth Amendment intended it to prohibit separate but equal educational opportunities.

On the other hand, the Court was not unmindful of the difficulty of desegregating all schools immediately. In its 1955 segregation decision it required only that desegregation begin promptly and proceed with as much speed as practicable.³⁰

The segregation cases in higher education did not alarm the Nation, probably because the number of schools and the number of persons concerned were relatively small. In addition, the students of both races were undoubtedly above average in intelligence, health, social conduct, and the like. Desegregation at the college level was accepted, though reluctantly.

But, when the Court outlawed segregated schools for the millions of elementary- and secondary-school pupils of all economic and social backgrounds, a storm of protest broke in many southern states. Ways and means were sought to evade the decision and continue segregated schools. The courts have had to review these plans, one by one. Most of them have been declared unconstitutional evasions of the "supreme law of the land." Greatest publicity has been given to the situation in Little Rock, Arkansas. The shocking events there, reviewed by the Court in its opinion in *Cooper v. Aaron*, led the Court to require a beginning toward desegregation in the Little Rock schools.³¹

Probably the most sweeping change in education resulting from a decision of the Supreme Court is and will be in this area of segregation. Did the Court change its role? No. The Court followed its century-old precedent of interpreting the Constitution in the light of up-to-date knowledge and contemporary philosophy.

LOYALTY OF SCHOOL PERSONNEL

The federal government has the primary responsibility of defending the Nation from internal subversion, as well as from external aggression. Nevertheless, since colonial days, the states have also acted in

³⁰ *Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka*, and other cases, 349 U.S. 294 (1955).

³¹ *Cooper v. Aaron*, 78 S. Ct. 1401 (1958).

the areas of loyalty and subversion. Practically every state has an anarchy and sedition law applicable to all residents. Many of these laws were enacted during World War I, but others go back to the eighteenth century. Pennsylvania's law was enacted in 1939.

In addition to sedition laws, about three-fourths of the states have special loyalty requirements applicable to teachers and other public employees. About half the states prohibit membership in subversive groups; more than a dozen proscribe membership in the Communist Party, specifically; several states require teachers to testify when called before investigating committees. These many loyalty requirements differ from state to state. Naturally, the constitutionality of some has been challenged. Granted the undesirability of having disloyal teachers in the public schools, the legal issue is whether the state legislatures have adopted constitutional methods to protect the public from disloyal teachers.

Oath laws.—Oath laws have been attacked in the courts on several grounds. Those who have been affected have urged that disclaimer oaths violate the First, Fifth, and Fourteenth Amendments to the Federal Constitution; that is, that they abridge the rights of freedom of speech, press and lawful assembly, or deny due process of law. It has been argued also that penalties for violation of an oath of loyalty are illegal bills of attainder or ex post facto laws. A bill of attainder is an infliction of punishment for a criminal act by a legislature instead of by judicial proceeding. Ex post facto laws are those which provide for punishment of an act which was not a crime when committed. The Constitution of the United States prohibits bills of attainder and ex post facto laws.

In many of the loyalty decisions, the courts have pointed out that an individual has no right to teach in the public schools. Public employment is a privilege and not a right. Public employees have a constitutional right to talk politics, but they have no constitutional right to be public employees.

With few exceptions, state courts have upheld loyalty laws which affect teachers. In 1951 the first modern loyalty case went before the Supreme Court. A municipal ordinance in Los Angeles required a loyalty oath of all city employees. It barred from employment anyone who advised, taught or advocated the violent overthrow of the

government, or who became a member of any organization so doing. The Court upheld the ordinance as valid.²²

The next year the Court had before it the New York Feinberg Law which requires the state department of education to list subversive organizations and to make membership in these organizations *prima facie* evidence for denying employment or for dismissing any individual from public-school employment. In a six to three decision, the Supreme Court upheld this law against contentions that it violated the First Amendment.²³

However, the Court held that the Oklahoma oath law was unconstitutional. The decision was in the same year as the New York decision, and the Oklahoma decision was unanimous. The contentions in the Oklahoma case were that the oath was a bill of attainder, an *ex post facto* law, an impairment of the obligation of contracts, and most important, that it violated the due process clause of the Fourteenth Amendment. The court held that it did violate the due process of law provision.²⁴

The principal defect in the Oklahoma oath law was the absence of *scienter*. *Scienter* means "knowingly." The statute did not state that knowledge on the part of the person taking the oath—knowledge that an organization to which he belongs is subversive—was required before he could be held to have violated the oath. Furthermore, the Supreme Court of Oklahoma had not interpreted the law as requiring *scienter*. Therefore, the Supreme Court of the United States held that the statute was an unconstitutional denial of due process.

The requirement that *scienter* be present before an individual can be disqualified under oath laws was important also in the other two Supreme Court decisions just mentioned. (In these and other decisions, it should be noted that the Supreme Court accepts the interpretation of state statutes made by the state supreme courts. Therefore, some of the differences in cases arising in the several states are attributable to differences in interpretations by state courts before the cases get to the Supreme Court.) The California oath law had no stated *scienter* requirement, but the Court upheld it because

²² *Garner v. Board of Public Works of Los Angeles*, 341 U.S. 716 (1951).

²³ *Adler et al. v. Board of Education*, 342 U.S. 485 (1952).

²⁴ *Weiman et al. v. Updegraff et al.*, 344 U.S. 183 (1952).

it felt "justified in assuming that scienter was implicit in each clause of the oath." The New York oath law was upheld on the ground that the New York courts had construed the statute as requiring scienter. Thus, the distinction between these two cases and the Oklahoma case is obvious.

Right to plead the Fifth Amendment.—Statutory provisions requiring teachers to testify when called before legislative investigating committees (state or national) raise the question of their right to refuse to testify on the basis of the Fifth Amendment, without jeopardizing their employment. The Fifth Amendment provides in part: "No person . . . shall be compelled in any criminal case to be a witness against himself." This privilege against self-incrimination would be a narrow one if the words of the Fifth Amendment were taken literally. By judicial interpretation, however, the scope of the privilege has been broadened so that the privilege extends to virtually every type of official proceeding, including legislative inquiries. The modern principle is that the witness may exercise his privilege against self-incrimination if he believes that his testimony may provide evidence by which his guilt may be established in a subsequent criminal action against him.

Several cases have arisen under requirements that teachers testify when called upon. College teachers in New York were dismissed for refusal to waive the privilege against self-incrimination when appearing before a committee of the state legislature. The New York City Charter provides for dismissal under such circumstances. The state court upheld the dismissal of these teachers on the familiar ground that though a teacher has a right to exercise his privilege against self-incrimination, he has no right to be a public-school teacher.³⁵ The court said the legislature had not abrogated any constitutional right, but had given public employees a choice. Other state courts have held to the same view, and the same reasoning has been used in the lower courts.³⁶

³⁵ *Shlakman v. Board of Higher Education; Daniman v. Board of Education of New York*, 119 N.E. (2d) 373 (N.Y. 1954).

³⁶ *Board of Education v. Eisenberg*, 277 P. (2d) 943 (Calif. 1954); *Board of Education v. Wilkinson*, 270 P. (2d) 82 (Calif. 1954); *Faxon v. School Committee*, 120 N.E. (2d) 772 (Mass. 1954); *Davis v. University of Kansas City*, 129 F. Supp. 716 (W.D. Mo., 1955).

Then, one of the teachers in the New York case appealed to the Supreme Court of the United States. It was held that dismissal on grounds of refusal to testify based on the Fifth Amendment does deny a constitutional right.²⁷ The Court condemned the practice of imputing a sinister meaning to the exercise of a person's constitutional right to plead the Fifth Amendment. It should not be taken as a confession of guilt; a witness may have a reasonable fear of prosecution and yet be innocent, said the Court. Though public employees have no constitutional right to public employment, this means that public employees must comply with reasonable, lawful, and nondiscriminatory terms laid down by proper authorities. After investigation, a state or its agent may decide that continued employment of one who has pleaded the Fifth Amendment is "inconsistent with a real interest in the state." But, such an investigation must be made. Dismissal resulting *ipso facto* from exercising the privilege against self-incrimination constitutes a presumption of guilt.

Some critics of the Court took the position that this decision interfered with a state's right to select and dismiss its employees. It was charged, even, that the Court upheld public employment of disloyal teachers. Federal interference in attempts of the states to avert subversion was said to have reached a new peak when the Court struck down the Pennsylvania Sedition Act in the *Nelson* case which attracted so much publicity. Nelson was an admitted Communist. He was convicted under the Pennsylvania state law. It was the Pennsylvania Supreme Court which reversed, holding that since Congress had enacted the Smith Act in 1940, the federal government had preempted the field and as a consequence state sedition acts were superseded. The Supreme Court of the United States affirmed.²⁸ The Court based its decision on the dominance of the federal interest, the pervasiveness of the federal plan, possible conflicts between administration of the state and federal laws on the same subject, and the possibility of double punishment (by the state and by the federal government) for the same act. The effect of this decision is uncertain. It may be that state sedition laws have been superseded at least to an

²⁷ *Slochower v. Board of Higher Education*, 350 U.S. 551 (1956).

²⁸ *Pennsylvania v. Nelson*, 350 U.S. 497 (1956).

extent by the federal law, but this does not mean that loyalty requirements of public employees have been nullified.

In 1958 the Court upheld the dismissal of a teacher, after a hearing on charges of incompetency based on refusal to answer questions relating to his activities in the Communist Party when those questions were posed by the local school superintendent.³⁹ That case arose here in Philadelphia. The Court said:

"By engaging in teaching in the public schools, petitioner did not give up his right to freedom of belief, speech or association. He did, however, undertake obligations of frankness, candor and cooperation in answering questions made of him by his employing Board examining into his fitness to serve it as a public school teacher. . . . We find no requirement in the Federal Constitution that a teacher's classroom conduct be the sole basis for determining his fitness."

Unlike the situation in the New York cases, the Pennsylvania teacher was dismissed because refusal to answer questions having a bearing on his fitness as a teacher was held to be equivalent to incompetency. No inference of guilt was drawn from the teacher's refusal to answer, as was the implication in New York where the dismissal was summary.

The Court did not change its role with regard to the loyalty requirements for teachers. On charges of incompetency, insubordination, or conduct unbecoming a teacher, a teacher could be legally dismissed for refusal to take the oath, for violation of the oath, or for refusal to testify at an investigation—without a law providing for his dismissal. As the Court said, the competency of a teacher is not to be measured solely by his performance in the classroom. I remember a Pennsylvania case where your state court held that a teacher could be dismissed for incompetency and immorality because she served beer and otherwise helped her husband in his restaurant out of school hours.⁴⁰ These terms are broadly interpreted so long as the misconduct is relevant to the teacher's fitness.

Federal decisions in the area of loyalty of school personnel have supported long-established principles that due process of law is pre-

³⁹ *Beilan v. Board of Public Education*, 357 U.S. 399 (1958).

⁴⁰ *Horasko v. School District*, 6 A (2d) 866 (Pa. 1939).

requisite to dismissal. Changing times have necessitated application of age-old legal principles to new situations.

CONCLUSION

It seems to me that many people put the cart before the horse. They say that the federal government has taken an increased role in controlling public education through decisions of its courts. My view is that changes in education have caused the courts to interpret the Constitution in circumstances unknown to earlier courts but they have been consistent in upholding the Constitution according to contemporary thinking. The principles have not changed; only their application. And, the need to apply these principles has arisen out of new concepts of the dignity of man. I cannot say it in my own words so well as Justice Black when he said, in 1940:

"Under our constitutional system, courts stand against any winds that blow as havens of refuge for those who might otherwise suffer because they are helpless, weak, outnumbered, or because they are non-conforming victims of prejudice and public excitement. . . . No higher duty, no more solemn responsibility, rests upon this Court, than that of translating into living law and maintaining this constitutional shield deliberately planned and inscribed for the benefit of every human being subject to our Constitution—of whatever race, creed or persuasion."⁴¹

⁴¹ *Chambers v. Florida*, 309 U.S. 277 (1940).

Trends in National and State Legislation

JOHN M. LUMLEY*

THE FIRST SESSION of the 86th Congress ended on September 15 without a decision having been made on the question of the federal government assuming its rightful share of the support of public education. When the session ended, HR 22 a \$4.4 billion, four year program of federal support was still awaiting action of the House Rules Committee which received it in early June. In the closing days of the session the Senate Committee on Labor and Public Welfare had reported out an emergency school construction bill which would provide \$1 billion in federal grants for construction of school buildings for a two year period. Allocations would be made on an equalization basis of 3 to 1.

A quick survey of the legislative history of this first session would indicate that the pressure created by the Russian Sputniks and Luniks for the federal government to assist the states in the financing of public education by a massive program of grants has lessened. The Congress did vote the funds needed to support the National Defense Education Act, the Federal Impacted Area Program, and the Vocational Education Program. A combination of factors delayed action in this session on the broad program as proposed in HR 22 and S 2. It is imperative that these forces be overcome in the next session if we are to achieve quality education in the United States.

As of this date the General Assembly of Pennsylvania has not made a decision as to the share the Commonwealth will assume of the additional cost of operating its schools. It should be pointed out that if the legislature enacts either of the present proposals on school subsidies it will not meet the financial needs of the schools as reported by the Committee of Fifteen in its report "Education in Pennsylvania Today and Tomorrow." This Committee estimated the need for

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increased state support to be \$196 million for a biennium. The present proposals will provide \$70 million.

It is inconceivable that the local school districts of Pennsylvania can absorb this difference and the educational program must suffer.

The experience in Pennsylvania has been the experience of a majority of the states during this past year.

A preliminary survey of the reports from the states indicates that the main problem facing legislatures this year was the financing of public education. It would appear that in a majority of states the enactments were of a temporary nature because the big problem was "Where is the Money Coming From?"

Second to the problem of financing public elementary and secondary education was the question of meeting the needs of higher education. Unfortunately in too many instances the solution offered was the appointment of a study commission.

A number of states enacted legislation relating to the exceptional child and to special studies.

The *Rockefeller Report on Education* states "All of the problems of the schools lead us back sooner or later to one basic problem—financing. It is a problem with which we cannot afford to cope half heartedly. Education has always been essential to achievement of our political and moral objectives. It has emerged as a necessary ingredient in our technological advancement. And now events have underscored its value in terms of sheer survival."

This statement emphasizes the fact that in a discussion of federal financial support of public education we must consider not only the question of the adequacy or inadequacy of state and local fiscal capacity but other factors as well.

First and foremost education is an essential instrument for carrying out functions which are a direct federal responsibility. Education is an investment in human resources from which the nation gains through a better informed electorate, a stronger military establishment and a greater technological productivity. These are not bound by state and local lines but are benefits that involve national strength, prestige and security. The federal government must assume part of the costs of public education to serve these ends. This is not aid but the

best method of discharging national obligations. State and local governments should not be forced to the limit of their fiscal capacities to carry out without federal support, functions in which there is a federal interest.

Population mobility and unequal educational opportunity creates a problem which no single state or locality can solve. It has been estimated that in a decade one fourth of the population has changed its state or residence. Nearly 35 million people yearly change residence and over 5 million cross state lines. As Dr. W. W. Eshelman, president of the N.E.A., stated recently, there is as much interstate commerce in ignorance as in anything else.

The effect of this movement, coupled with the differences in wealth among the states to support education, is that no region can be completely immune to sub-standard education. Only the federal government can solve this problem by furnishing the money needed to provide a minimum educational program.

Only the federal government can convert our vast national economic capacity into tax dollars in an equitable and efficient way. The federal government has greater freedom and greater power to tax. It does not have to be concerned with interstate competition and interstate migration of wealth.

When you consider all of these factors you recognize the inevitability of the federal government providing financial support for schools. Once it becomes clear that federal participation in the financing of public education is inevitable the question that must be answered is what form this support should take.

Since the enactment of the Vocational Education law all federal support has been in the form of special aid for specific purposes.

Those persons believing in special aid have argued that it tends to stimulate states and local districts to do things they might not otherwise have done and that large federal grants would tend to undermine state and local initiative.

Little consideration has been given to the fact that these short term aids must be federally defined and federally regulated in order to justify keeping them as special aids.

Curiously enough many of the people who oppose massive federal

participation in financing schools because of the danger of federal control have supported special programs which by their very nature will demand detailed regulation.

On the other hand many political scientists agree that federal support or broad purpose grants preserve state and local control and should be used if inadequate fiscal capacity or the national interest is of overriding importance.

In its discussion of financing education the Rockefeller Fund Report says:

"It will not be enough to meet the problem grudgingly or with a little more money. The Nation's need for good education is immediate; and good education is expensive. That is a fact which the American people have never been quite prepared to face. At stake is nothing less than our national greatness and our aspirations for the dignity of the individual. If the public is not prepared for this, then responsible educators, business leaders, political leaders, unions, and civic organizations must join in a national campaign to prepare them.

But first our national leaders will themselves have to grasp the true scope of the task. Perhaps the greatest problem facing American education is the widely held view that all we require are a few more teachers, a few more buildings, a little more money. Such an approach will be disastrous. We are moving into the most demanding era in our history. An educational system grudgingly and tardily patched to meet the needs of the moment will be perpetually out of date. We must build for the future in education as daringly and aggressively as we have built other aspects of our national life in the past."

The National Education Association firmly believes that the first big step in achieving quality education in this country is the enactment of the Murray bill S 2 during the coming session of Congress.

This bill would provide financial assistance to the states for the purpose of providing quality buildings and securing quality teachers. Each state to determine the proportion of the allotment that will be expended for each of the two purposes.

There can be no federal control under the provisions of this bill. Grants would be made on the basis of school age population—\$25 the

first year, \$50 the second, \$75 the third and \$100 for the fourth and each year thereafter.

This means a total appropriation of \$1.1 billion the first year increasing to \$4.5 by the fourth year.

A massive infusion of federal funds that will make the breakthrough for better schools that will meet the challenge of today's dynamic living.

The Teacher as Leader in Group Experience *(A Method of Rehabilitating Juvenile* *Misbehavior)*

MAURICE E. LINDEN*

ALL PERSONS who are concerned with youth in trouble make note of the common observation that an overwhelming proportion of such youngsters come from disrupted families. As a general rule these are homes broken by divorce, desertion, mental illness, or dubious marital status of the parents.

Study of the home situation almost invariably reveals that the youngster, who is regarded as a delinquent, has had inadequate parental figures with whom to identify himself. While the mother is often a fairly responsible individual who strives valiantly to instruct her children regarding the principles of good citizenship, she is not usually helped in her efforts by the father. The mother assumes an over-intensified family leadership role because of the father's default.

Several features of personality and character formation are adversely affected in the young, among the most important being:

Over-identification with the mother, leading to profound doubt as to sexual identity in the male child

Inadequate conscience formation

Tendency to emulate the weak and socially impotent image of the father

Trend toward dominance of instinctual and impulsive behavior

If we think of character as being related to conscience and serving as the internal disposition to restrain impulses according to a

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regulative principle, then it becomes clear that in the delinquent youngster we are dealing with incomplete formation of character and a consequent impulsiveness. Treatment of such youngsters is difficult because of some rigidity in personality formation, relative absence of feelings of distress, anxiety or discomfort, and pleasure in instinctual acting. It may be said that the youngster is not in pain; society about him suffers. Rarely does the youth seek help. As a rule it is his environment that demands he be treated.

In recent years group methods of psychotherapy have proved themselves to be of extraordinary value in some situations that resist individual therapy. However with group psychotherapists and psychotherapists generally in short supply, there has developed a degree of social impasse in efforts to "do something" realistic about the overwhelming number of youngsters with behavior disorders. They and their adult counterparts are more apt to be managed punitively than therapeutically, because mankind understands brute force far more readily than it does the supplying of emotional needs. And it cannot be denied that the actions of persons with serious character deficiencies are, at the least, dangerous nuisances which excite retaliatory attitudes in others.

Admittedly therapy with such youngsters is a difficult experience for both treater and treated. As a rule the task confronting the treater consists of efforts to:

Change character disorders into neurotic problems; treat the neuroses conventionally; prevent serious "acting out" of emotional problems; serve as surrogate parent; re-educate the youth with reference to social values, living goals, and philosophy of life; promote a fresh, realistic and judicious psychological independence.

A group of educators, social planners and I, in late summer 1959, undertook to formulate a method of working with problem pupils within the general organization of the school system. Based on psychiatric considerations and advice the decision was reached to utilize the insights and processes of group psychotherapy in an approach to adolescent behavior problems. Instead of trained therapists, male school teachers were selected to be group leaders. Regular and continuous psychotherapeutic supervision was arranged with the

psychiatric physician. The group leaders met regularly at weekly intervals with groups of eight or nine boys for an hour and a half sessions after school. The leaders met with the psychiatric supervisors once weekly for two hour training sessions. The entire project was of nine months' duration.

The teacher-group-leaders were trained in the art of encouraging and dealing with group interactions, group tensions and individual verbalization by the participants. The training sessions with the leaders became group psychotherapeutic experiences.

Two kinds of results were achieved: marked and documented improvement in the youngsters, and development of the leaders. A reduction in misbehavior among the youths was reported spontaneously by the school authorities. The leaders discovered that their effectiveness as teachers in school and parents in their own homes was enhanced. The latter benefits were considered to be based upon new understandings of personality development, new comprehensions of the psychology of human relationships, and personal self-understandings.

The changes that took place in the group members probably were owing to:

Informal structuring of the groups with a minimum of sanctions; an atmosphere of guided permissiveness; opportunities for unlimited verbal self-expression in an emotionally secure setting; acceptance of and trust in the group leader as male parental substitute; identification with the leader accompanied by absorption of his personal qualities; correction of popular errors and misapprehensions regarding society-at-large; production of some insights on the part of the youngsters into the motives underlying their actions; and increased psychological understandings in the group leaders.

The structured method that utilizes the teacher as trained group leaders, not as psychotherapists, and succeeds in simultaneously enhancing the personal maturity of both treater and treated is warmly recommended as one of the means of combatting behavior disorders in youth in the school setting.

III

Elementary Education

The Elementary School of the Future

JOHN L. GOODLAD*

IT IS ASSUMED that several individuals projecting the elementary school of the future would agree on desiring good schools. Differences in what they envision would depend on fundamental differences in what they view as "good." It seems useful, therefore, to identify criteria for the good school that specify the values of the writer. These criteria then become standards for judging the status of a school within the particular value framework posed.

This paper applies one man's perception of what is good to a series of persistent educational questions. The results describe the "character" of education desired. Faculties of individual schools are urged to exercise caution in using as guides to action the results of comparing their own answers to these questions (as expressed in school practice) with the answers posed in this paper. Should these answers appear to agree in kind, it may be suspected that the writer and the faculty group fundamentally agree in viewpoint. Acceptance of the specific proposals of this paper as goals for faculty action would make some sense. But should these answers basically disagree in kind, then these proposals become focal points for re-examining values, not goals for action. The reader should consider himself forewarned.

WHAT PURPOSE OR AIM

Some years ago, the problem of slow-learning children in the elementary school was brought to the attention of an influential citizen. To the query, "What should be done with them?" he replied, "Kick 'em out. That's what we did at West Point."

At another time and place, essentially the same question was ad-

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dressed to Sir Richard Livingstone, then visiting Emory University in Atlanta, Georgia. Greek scholar and philosopher, Sir Richard gazed reflectively toward the window and replied, "I think I should try to interest them in building a bird's nest, or something like that."

These two quite different answers to a single query are useful in examining the question of what elementary schools are for. There seem to be, currently, two major positions, not neatly separated in practice but interwoven in such a way that it is extremely difficult if not impossible to sort out schools clearly representing one or the other viewpoint.

The first position views elementary education as a set body of learnings to be mastered. When these learnings are mastered, one has acquired, presumably, "an elementary education." From this position certain school practices follow. There are prescribed tasks that mark a beginning and an ending as well as specific steps along the way. It is consistent to keep some children out of school until they are "ready" and to retain others in school if they appear not to have accomplished the learnings specified for various stages.

The second position views elementary education as a means of enriching living for young people during a specified period in their lives. A reasonable interpretation of this position views schooling as helping children live more effectively now but in such a way that they will be more effective, also, in meeting the personal and social demands of later periods. Such schooling takes its cues from the development period of the children and the demands thus placed upon young people, not from a prescribed series of tasks to be mastered.

In my judgment, the second position will emerge dominant for the elementary school of the future. We must come to realize that time has marched on—right past the period in our history when a little reading, writing and arithmetic were *both* elementary and terminal education. It was appropriate, once upon a time in America, to lay out a little stuff (call it an elementary education) to be mastered. Often, those enrolled in the elementary schools for the learning of it were young adults. Increasingly today, the educational needs of adults—even when the meeting of these needs calls for learning to read and write—are met through adult, not elementary,

education. Implementation of the first position—and this position enjoys considerable current support—to the point of the mastery implied would retain some persons in the elementary schools until their beards draped in the inkwells.

The good elementary school has as its aim, then, the education of children rather than the provision of something fixed called elementary education. One thinks of this education initially as *childhood education* in the same way that one thinks of adult education as education for adults.

A number of specific practices now fall into place. The entrance age for beginning school is defined by years and not estimates of "readiness" for prescribed learnings. Consequently, in the future, children who reach a given entrance age by a date set uniformly nationwide will automatically be admitted wherever they happen to reside. Children requiring specialized attention of various kinds will attend school in the same building with their peers except in those relatively few cases of amnesia, dementia or physical disability where the welfare of others is seriously endangered. In fact, the range of special developmental problems provided for by the school will be such that it will become well-nigh impossible to differentiate between those children receiving "special" and those receiving "regular" education.

In brief summary, to assure an intelligent, self-governing, future citizenry of the sort implied in the term "democracy," our young people must be encompassed by childhood education designed to develop to the full the potentialities of *all* of them.

WHAT RESPONSIBILITIES AND OBJECTIVES

The school is only one of several institutions contributing to childhood education. The good elementary school constantly re-examines its responsibilities in relation to the responsibilities of other institutions in order to assure clear-cut priorities.

School people are and have been "takers-on." Admittedly, our society has demanded more and more of its schools. But the good mother hen that is the elementary school has been quite willing to become foster parent for ducklings and goslings as well as its own chicks.

Over the years ahead, teachers and principals will become less involved in activities involving medical and dental care, feeding and transportation. The amount of time spent on these activities, especially by principals, constitutes a sad commentary on appropriate use of professional talent. In slipping away from direct control of teachers and principals, however, these activities will assume greater significance as instructional interest centers to be used meaningfully in the educational program.

The school's objectives will narrow to those involving cognition, high-level psychomotor skills and values and attitudes essential to living with many different groups and peoples around the world. These will be defined in behavioral terms of sufficient precision to permit ready differentiation between appropriate and inappropriate means to their attainment.

In a very real sense, the elementary school of the future will emphasize its own dispensability. It will come to be recognized as merely a device attendant on childhood through which the child comes to say about learning, "I can and I will," and in so saying embarks on a process of life-long but largely school-free education.

WHAT KIND OF CURRICULUM

Sometime in the future, the "sacred cow" concept of the elementary school curriculum will perish. Its demise will be in keeping with the aim of elementary education endorsed earlier.

A few years ago, the physicist, Robert Oppenheimer, pointed out that most of what is worth knowing was out in the textbooks when today's adults were in elementary schools. Others commenting on the expansion of knowledge point out that more knowledge has been accumulated in the last 60 years than in all previous human history. And of all the scientists ever born, 95 per cent are still alive.

The problem of selecting for the curriculum of the elementary school a little knowledge of most worth is akin to selecting the best handful of straw from a thousand silos filled with straw. The task defies human powers of discrimination. In many curricular practices, however, we continue to act as though this task already had been

accomplished and that what is of most worth not only can be ideotified but already is laid out for pupil coosumptioo.

The "sacred cow" approach to the curriculum creates a formidable dilemma for the teacher. No matter how carefully curriculum guides state that topics are merely suggestive, traditioaal grade mindedness fosters pressure to cover: so much by Halloweeo, so much more by Thanksgiving, half the year's work by Christmas. Soon, admonitions to use the interest of the children and persistent problems of living as organizing ceoters for learning become mere slogans. How does one cover the work perceived to be prescribed and use opportunities for learning and teaching that arise in class?

In the good elementary school, processes of inquiry are developed through organizing instruction around relatively constant threads or elements: concepts, skills or values. The behaviors sought and elements defined suggest the range of learning opportunities to be offered. They do not prescribe specific topics "to be covered" by all. Thus, in the social studies, a teacher will be relatively notroubled about whether to teach Egypt, Switzerland or neither in the fifth grade. Instead, he will be very concerned about whether a selected procedure and topic offer opportunity for children to develop insight into the differences in problems of human living encountered where and when one lives. The specific means employed to develop such insight will vary from teacher to teacher and school to school according to the needs, interest and abilities of the children involved. But the kinds of understandings deemed worthy of development in childhood education will be reasonably similar from place to place.

The organizing *elements* or threads around which instruction is to be woven will remain relatively constant. After all, basic geographic principles are not changed by the creation of new capital cities or the revision of boundary lines separating countries. Our understandings of pateros of acculturation and of historical method change relatively slowly, io spite of the rapid expansion of knowledge. The organizing *centers* used in developing these threads will vary according to the creativity of the iodividual in working with his class.

A curriculum consisting of relatively constant organizing threads and relatively variable organizing centers for instruction is virtually

opposite from the situation currently prevailing. Such a concept of curriculum development must emerge, however, if teachers are not to be completely overwhelmed by the explosive accumulation of new knowledge.

WHAT KIND OF HABITAT FOR LEARNING

No Artificial Rewards

Some of the most sweeping changes of the future are to come about in the classroom habitat for learning. The good elementary school eliminates all rewards external to the learning process, extolling as central reward the satisfaction that comes from learning itself.

The superlative product of any educational enterprise is the intrinsically motivated student. The self-motivated student needs no gold stars, no candy bars, no flattery. He is challenged by the task and rewarded by the satisfactions that come from grappling successfully with it. It becomes apparent that the habitat for learning must provide challenge for all. The provision of stimuli adequately differentiated for the wide range in degree and kind of talent in the elementary school still remains our most formidable educational challenge.

So many of the early efforts of young humans are inappropriately rewarded by bribe and adult approval that some children fail to have adequate experience with true success. Not having tasted the genuine fruits of accomplishment, they have little appetite for learning. Teachers who hand out prizes for classroom behavior cheat their pupils by depriving them from learning what intellectual inquiry is all about.

Reduction of Anxiety

The good elementary school reduces anxiety in children by deliberately screening out many of the pressures seeking to intrude from the outside world. We have tended to make too much of the virtues of education that is life-like. For many children, schooling should be anything but like their life outside of school.

School should not be a constant reminder of the squalid, fear-ridden

existence many children experience outside of school. Instead, school should help the child catch a glimpse of personal potentialities not previously perceived, personal potentialities that often defy perception in the home environment.

School must not perpetuate the inequalities of society represented in the home.¹ Instead it must provide the opportunity for a fresh start. For some children, this fresh start must be provided each day until they come to realize that the behavior demanded of them out of school is not to be held against them in school. And, in time, under proper guidance, the behavior acquired in school will come to guide more and more of their behavior out of school. If education must be forever life-like, our schools will never do more than mirror life around them, the best undifferentiated from the worst.

Schools must serve to counter-balance much of society in providing for the most as well as the least gifted learners. Many of our intellectually gifted children fail to perform at levels anticipated for them. Some educators and psychologists fear that the lives of children are so cluttered with activity after activity that their energies are frittered away. They have no time to think, no energy for creativity.² Many such children become anxious over failure to come up to their expectations for themselves.

Instead of pressuring these young people into more and more effort, higher and higher accomplishment, perhaps the school should provide a change of pace. There should be time for reflection, encouragement to envision a new approach, and virtually unlimited opportunity to pursue special interests. We seem to assume that high level learning, like a straight line, is the shortest distance between two points. Very often true learning is the winding, twisting, meandering route to the other side of the problem where it can be viewed afresh. Anxious, troubled children who are reminded by school of the things that trouble them are not likely to take the creative route.

¹ For an eloquent analysis of the subtle forces walling off groups from one another in our society, read Bruno Bettelheim's paper, "Segregation: New Style," *School Review*, pp. 251-272, Autumn 1958.

² For an interesting analysis of these and other aspects of achievement among the gifted, see Ernest A. Haggard, "Socialization, Personality, and Academic Achievement in Gifted Children," *School Review*, vol. 63, pp. 388-414, Winter, 1957.

Interest Centers, Electronic Aids and Self-Propelled Learning

The good elementary school provides an assortment of "interest centers" inside and outside the classroom, arranged in such a way that they do not satisfy children's interest but cause them, rather, to ask "why" about many things that may not have concerned them previously. To an increasing degree, these interest centers will be found outside of the classroom as industries and community agencies assume responsibility for challenging the inquiring minds of young people. In addition, however, intellectual challenge will be brought into the classroom through itinerant art displays, television programs and a host of electronic devices.

Among electronic devices, teaching machines and tapes will offer opportunity for individual exploration. Teaching machines make it possible for young people to practice skill development without the need for teacher supervision and without the danger of repeating errors to the point where considerable unlearning of incorrect responses is required. Tapes on a variety of topics provide opportunity for children to follow personal interests quite apart from the progress of classmates.

Increased use of electronic aids poses the need for a new kind of classroom divided not into a single rectangle of perhaps one thousand square feet but subdivided, rather, into a number of cubicles and small conference rooms.* The partitions separating these cubicles will be collapsible and movable so that rooms of various sizes may be created at will. Is it not exciting to visualize the classroom of tomorrow separated into perhaps a half-dozen or so smaller units each containing a child or small group of children busily pursuing their respective learning interests? The teacher in such a situation assumes the role of coordinator and resource person, busily anticipating learning demands and providing for them through many media.

In the elementary school of tomorrow, children will be largely self-directing, following individually and in small groups a variety of significant educational ends.

* See Francis S. Chase, "The Schools I Hope to See," *NEA Journal*, Vol. 46, No. 3, pp. 167-68, March, 1957.

WHAT PATTERNS OF SCHOOL AND CLASSROOM ORGANIZATION

The teacher-per-class-per-grade concept of classroom organization we now know will disappear. The good elementary school is uninterrupted in its vertical organization by the lock-step of grade levels. In my judgment, the differentiated rates of progress called for in meeting the individual differences encompassed by the elementary school can be achieved adequately only in a nongraded school.⁴ In such a school, the words "promotion" and "nonpromotion" disappear simply because there is no longer any practice to which to apply them.

Increasingly, in the future, we will come to see that certain principles underlying the self-contained classroom are applicable in a learning environment where children have contact with several teachers rather than one. There is no research to tell us how long children should remain with a single teacher in order to achieve the security deemed desirable by educators and psychologists. Youngsters manage to live quite successfully with two adults—a mother and a father—from the time they are born. There is no good reason for assuming that they can't live equally successfully with two or more adults in the school environment as well. Therefore, in the future, teachers often will work in small teams representing the minimum range of special competencies needed for guiding the learning of much larger families of children than now make up our self-contained elementary-school classrooms.⁵ But for these larger families to receive instruction together as a unit will be the exception rather than the rule. They will be divided into a number of sub-groups as suggested above, each group drawing upon appropriate resources that include one or more teachers. Teaching teams will include student teachers, teacher aides, and secretarial assistants to a degree not possible under our present system of classroom organization.

Very often, children in the elementary school of the future will

⁴For details, see John L. Goodlad and Robert H. Anderson, *The Nongraded Elementary School*. New York: Harcourt, Brace and Co., 1959.

⁵For some examples of such team teaching, see John L. Goodlad, "In Pursuit of Visions," *Elementary School Journal*, 59, pp. 1-17, October, 1958.

be grouped according to a process of self-selection, with groups forming after rather than before determination of the tasks to be accomplished. They most certainly will not be grouped according to any single criterion (such as I.Q.) applied to *all* children.

The elementary school of the future, then, will be organized so as to provide continuous, individual, vertical progress for each child. And it will be organized horizontally so as to break down class-to-class barriers in gaining instructional resources beyond anything that can be provided by a single teacher working in an isolated cell.

HOW EDUCATE OUR TEACHERS

The good teacher education program is conducted as a cooperative venture of the highest order embracing many departments of the college or university and the profession itself, as represented by participating elementary schools. The department of education becomes only one of several contributing to the prospective teacher's education.

Increasingly in the future, prospective teachers will become involved with learners and their learning almost from the moment of entry into the teacher preparing program. The primary responsibility of the teacher education institution will be to assist the teachers-to-be in making a preliminary synthesis of those understandings basic to professional decision-making.

The pre-service program will be regarded by all concerned merely as a beginning, not a completion of teacher education. The beginning teacher will engage in a residency period on-the-job, ultimately three years in length. There will be some college supervision of this work but direction will be primarily the responsibility of competent teachers in the cooperating schools. These teachers will be responsible for doing everything possible to assure success for the neophyte. At the end of the three-year period, the successful "resident" will be ceremoniously inducted into the profession with all the "rights, privileges and responsibilities thereto appertaining." Normally, too, he will be granted the Master of Arts in Teaching degree indicating that he has now effected in practice a synthesis of knowledge and skills essen-

tial to teaching. He will now qualify, too, for a salary equivalent to ten years of service today in our better communities.

The teacher education program described here offers some promise that the vast majority of educational decisions ultimately will be based on scientific facts and principles—a body of professional lore. Only then will we have a true profession of teaching.

IN CONCLUSION

Many persons looking ahead sound a note of despair over the apparent decline of the family as an educative agency. I take a quite different view. In my judgment, the home and family will rise in educational influence.

Most of us live phrenetic lives in a fast-moving age. Our homes, be they suburban hi-levels or urban apartments, increasingly offer sanctuary. Into them can come, with little judgment on our part, the richest cultural offerings of listening and seeing the world has ever known. Into them, too, could come and will come, via electronics, lessons for all so programmed that opportunity for continuous study of the world's rapidly accumulating knowledge will be as close as a teaching machine. Such machines, like television and hi-fi sets, will be inexpensively accessible to all.

The aim of public education, as initially stated in this paper, increasingly will be to teach young people to learn; that is to develop the learning skills and attitudes essential to self-propelled education. It is conceivable that virtually all young people could learn these skills and acquire these attitudes during the period of instruction termed childhood education. But then, everyone—children and parents alike—will have the identical problem of keeping reasonably up to date in a world of exploding knowledge. Is it not conceivable, then, that entire families might devote several hours a day in the sanctuary of their homes, enjoying the best of man's cultural products and grappling with man's newest inventions and discoveries? It seems reasonable to expect, too, that they might discuss together their adventures of the mind, testing perceptions and weighing conclusions.

Yes, it is not fantastic to conceive of families being drawn together in a common endeavor long ago conceived by philosophers to be a rightful aim for man: the worthy use of leisure through cultivation of the *mind*.

Developing Teachable Units for Elementary Social Studies

DOROTHY McCLURE FRASER*

THE ADVANTAGES of the unit approach as I see them are:

We can facilitate learning by wholes. In a unit of study children can get an overview of a problem or topic, can relate each day's work to the overall structure, and can end by synthesizing their new learning.

We have an opportunity to arouse children's interest in a significant topic or problem and to develop a continuing motivation to learn more about it.

With its emphasis on varied procedures, we have an opportunity to provide for individual differences.

Finally, we can develop a planned sequence of activities focused on selected objectives.

There is a 20-year-old definition of a social studies unit that will give us a common ground on which to meet. It was written by Michener and Long after they had studied all the definitions of social studies units they could find. "A social studies unit . . . is an organization of information and activities focused upon the development of some significant understanding, attitude or appreciation which will modify behavior."¹ I believe a teachable or learnable unit must fit this definition. It must have certain characteristics that are stated in the definition or implied by it.

One characteristic is that of clearly defined purposes, with both content and activities chosen to implement those purposes. The purposes must be related and consistent with each other. They will

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¹ James A. Michener and Harold M. Long, *The Unit in the Social Studies*, Cambridge: School of Education, Harvard University, 1940.

include concepts that are socially significant, skills that are needed to develop the concepts, and attitudes or values that are related to the concepts and skills.

Another characteristic of an effective social studies unit is that it presents content in such a way that pupil behavior is modified in a positive direction. This modification of behavior may involve overt activity such as the way a first grader crosses a busy intersection or the way a sixth grader works in a committee situation. Or it may involve more subtle aspects of behavior, such as the way a child goes about seeking information or drawing conclusions from data.

A third characteristic of a teachable unit is that it is planned to fit the children who will study it. It must include content that these children can become interested in and *can* understand. It must be developed through activities that they *can* perform with satisfaction and effectiveness, yet find a challenge in carrying out. In other words, the teachable unit must fit the maturity, abilities, needs and interests of the children with whom it is developed. It must relate to their experience backgrounds, but carry them beyond what they already know.

A fourth characteristic of a teachable unit is that it is developed through a variety of procedures, activities, and materials, chosen to fit the children's maturity and abilities, and the purposes of the unit.

Finally, a teachable unit extends over a suitable block of time, depending on the interest span of the children, the purposes of the unit, and the number of sub-units into which it is organized.

This definition of a teachable unit also implies some things that a unit is *not*. It is not a series of daily lessons that are related to one topic or a "method of teaching," or an exercise in committee work, as many teachers seem to think. Committees or groups are likely to be used in many units but they are not an inevitable concomitant of the unit approach. They should be used only when they furnish the best means of achieving unit purposes.

With this background, let us look at the actual steps in teaching a social studies unit in an elementary classroom. Usually we think of four steps—selecting and pre-planning the unit, initiating it, developing it, and culminating the unit.

SELECTING AND PRE-PLANNING THE UNIT

The curriculum plan lays out a large content area or theme for each grade in the elementary school and the teacher is free to select learning experiences within that area or theme.

In any case the teacher, in pre-planning the unit, must take such questions as these into account:

How can this unit topic be taught so as to develop significant understandings, needed skills, and socially desirable attitudes?

How can this unit be developed so as to fit this particular group of children?

How can this unit be made to develop out of previous study these children have done, and to flow into the next unit of work?

What materials are available on this unit topic? Which ones are of suitable difficulty for this group of children? Where do the available materials need supplementing, and where can I find the needed books, pictures, and so on? Even in schools with limited resources, a teacher who knows what she needs and can explain her needs to the principal can build up a collection of materials over a period of time. In many communities the public library is a source of books, records, and pictures. But the public library is a practical source, only if the teacher has investigated it to learn what is there. The teacher can also build her own supplementary resource files, over a period of time, with relatively little expense. The topics we need to teach about in elementary school social studies are not esoteric. They are not far removed from the community or from topics that are frequently treated in current magazines. The elementary teacher who systematically clips and files materials from illustrated magazines soon has a helpful file of social studies pictures and other materials. The elementary teacher who studies her community soon learns the places and the people who can serve as resources for social studies units. The elementary teacher who enlists the aid of her pupils in locating local resources and gathering picture materials finds that her resource files grow by leaps and bounds.

The elementary teacher who saves selected pupil products from one year to another has found a rich source of materials for units that are

a standard part of the curriculum. This is not to say that a social studies program can be properly developed without an adequate budget any more than can a science program. But we need to make the most of the resources we have—and these are greater than many teachers have discovered.

These four questions make it clear that pre-planning becomes a much simpler task if the teacher has resource units and resource files from which to work. Beginning teachers are often discouraged at what seems to them the enormous task of building such a collection. Those of us who have been on the job for a while know that resource files can be built over a relatively short period of time and with small expense to ourselves, provided we approach the task systematically and stay with it continuously.

After we have identified our unit topic and come to some decisions about the four questions mentioned, we must first establish the definite objectives of our teaching unit. In doing so, we must be both comprehensive and limiting. Our unit objectives must be comprehensive in that they include concepts or understandings, skills, and attitudes. They must be limited in that they are few enough in number that we can hope really to do something about them within the unit. Of course we cannot, in a single unit, hope to achieve once and for all the development of any skill, attitude or concept. Such development is cumulative, through the year and from one year to another. What we are saying is that in a single unit we need to focus on a few continuing goals in order to make progress toward them. For example, an attitude of respect for work well done and for the worker who does it will not be developed in one unit on "Where do we get our clothing?" but the unit can help the child develop this attitude. Again, no one will teach a map-reading skill such as the use of latitude and longitude to locate specific places on the map or globe. But a single unit can introduce the intermediate grade child to this skill, or the unit can give him practice in using it and so reinforce the skill for him.

Once we have identified our unit objectives they become our guide posts in the rest of our pre-planning. We will select approaches for introducing the unit, developmental and culminating activities, and evaluation measures in terms of our specific objectives. Our pre-

planning will include: deciding on approaches, listing potential developmental activities and materials to be used in them, identifying possible culminating activities, and planning for evaluation. It will also include some preliminary ideas about providing for transition to the next unit, which may or may not be definitely selected at this time.

We anticipate the use of teacher-pupil planning in developing elementary social studies units. The extent and nature of this co-operative planning will vary from one group of children to another, from one teacher to another. We must recognize that the more cooperative planning the teacher intends to use, the broader must be her pre-planning. She must be ready to move in one of several directions, if children are offered broad areas for planning.

INITIATING THE UNIT

Our task in initiating the social studies unit is three-fold. We must create interest, or motivation for study for the unit. I use the word "create," advisedly, for while the unit must be potentially interesting to the children if it is to be teachable, we do not assume that a burning interest in it already exists. Children, like people of other ages, get interested in things they learn more about if they see real reasons for learning about them. Therefore, we must help them set purposes at the same time that we are creating interest and motivation. This involves exploring the unit topic, raising questions about it. We must develop a readiness for dealing with the concepts and materials of the unit. For example, we must prepare the children to deal with the vocabulary and skills they must use in studying the unit.

To initiate the unit effectively, we will use not one but several approaches. Almost always we will use an "arranged environment." That is, we will post colorful, pertinent pictures on the bulletin board, and put interesting related books on the library table. We may bring to the classroom clothing or other articles that are typical of the country, region, or process that is to be the topic of the next unit. We will begin this arrangement of the environment some days or even weeks before the new unit is to be introduced, to give the

youngsters' interest a chance to grow naturally. We will carefully but casually work references to the new unit topic into class discussions, to start the pupils thinking about it. Thus some background will have been laid before the unit is initiated. The use of many different materials and devices during the introduction will help to catch the interest of many pupils. The picture that was exciting to one may mean little to another, but if a variety of stimuli have been used, there is a better chance of sparking the group's interest. Probably, one of the steps in unit teaching that has been least effectively handled in many classrooms has been this gradual, many-sided induction into the coming unit. But if we stop to consider, we will recognize its importance and will be able to think of many ways of handling it.

The overt introduction of the unit may come through a discussion, a film, a field trip, a "dress-up" day, or another such activity. Usually, we will use more than one activity of these sorts in the first days of the new unit. At the same time children will be exploring the unit topic through reading, discussion and observations. They will also be raising questions to which they want to find answers. At this stage of the unit a great deal of cooperative planning can be done. The Denver Social Studies Guide gives us a useful list of the kinds of planning that pupils can share with their teachers during the early stages of the unit.²

They find out what they already know about the unit.

They list questions and organize them in terms of specific problems which they wish to solve.

They set up objectives in terms of behavior changes toward which to work.

They set up definite ways of evaluating their progress toward their objectives.

They consider experiences which will help to solve their problems.

They discuss materials that may be available and where they can get them.

Not all these things would or could be done in one planning

² *The Social Studies Program of the Denver Public Schools*, Denver, Colorado: Denver Public Schools, 1954, p. 7.

session, but most of them can be touched on in the opening stages of the unit. Revisions can be made and plans can be made definite as the unit moves along.

DEVELOPING THE UNIT

The initiation of the unit merges into the development stage almost imperceptibly, so far as the youngsters are concerned. They gather material from many sources—reading, interviewing, studying still pictures and films, listening to records, going on field trips. They use their information in a variety of ways—discussing, making booklets, arranging bulletin boards, giving floor talks, taking part in dramatic play, making collections for an exhibit, and so on. Some of the activities will be carried out by the group as a whole—reading about the topic, making basic maps, doing reading exercises based on text materials and pictures, viewing and discussing films, etc. Others will be selected by individuals or small groups as their “special” activities. Sometimes the results of the special activities will be shared with the entire class, and become a part of the common core of information used in developing the unit. In other cases, an individual or group may report the results of its work to the teacher only or to a part of the class. At least a part of the work becomes highly individualized during this stage of the unit.

On some days, during this development stage, much of the social studies time will be spent in group or individual study and work activities. On other days, sharing of information and experience will take much of the time. This is the period when plans must be revised frequently in the light of developments. It is the period when the pace must be readjusted as necessary to keep things moving, but without placing frustrating pressures on the group or on individuals within the group.

This is the stage when potentially teachable units sometimes bog down, for one of a variety of reasons. Perhaps there is not enough teacher direction in the day-to-day work, not enough short-term goal setting so that youngsters can see their progress. With elementary

youngsters, almost every day's activity in the social studies unit should begin with planning, or an informal review of the goals for the day. It should close with at least a brief summary of the day's work, and an evaluation of how well the plans for the day have been carried out. This structure for the daily work helps provide continuity and direction for the developmental phase of the unit. It helps the pupils gain a sense of progress toward the unit goals. It helps the teacher set a suitable pace and holds pupils to it. Yet it is not inconsistent with flexible use of time and materials.

Another common reason for bogging down in the developmental state of the unit is ready access to enough appropriate materials. If the pre-planning has been adequate and the daily preparation has been carefully done, of course, this will not happen. But if it does, the teacher must quickly adjust the time schedule and plans to the materials that can be had, even though this means a major adjustment.

Still another reason for loss of pupil interest in this stage of the unit is lack of variety and balance in the types of activities that are used. Note that in the following list of "Suggested Activities for Elementary Social Studies Classes" the activities are classified by type. In most social studies units we should use some activities from each of these types. And we should help each child find different and interesting ways of dealing with each type of activity. Oral reports, for example, can become deadly things if a whole series of them follow a set routine. In providing for variety in activities, primary grade teachers are often far ahead of those who work in the intermediate and upper grades—which probably helps to account for the fact that social studies is an unpopular subject with many fifth and sixth grade pupils.

One of the most difficult problems in teaching a unit is choosing the best moment to draw the developmental phase to a close, and move into the culminating or summarizing aspect. This should be done while interest is still high, but after pupils have had opportunity for what they can regard as substantial gains in achieving the goals they have accepted for the unit. Knowing when to stop requires a knowledge of the interest span of the group and of the pupils as individuals, as well as thorough familiarity with pupil progress day by day.

CULMINATING THE UNIT

Plans for culminating the unit of work must help pupils synthesize what they have learned about the unit topic and give them a chance to apply their learning. Too often, the unit culmination is thought of as a student exhibition of some sort—a pageant for the school assembly, a program for parents, or a party at which the youngsters display to the guests the things they have made and learned. Activities through which youngsters perform for an audience usually have high motivation value and should be considered as *one* means of drawing the unit to a close. But more and more we have realized that they may also be somewhat artificial, and even have undesirable overtones, if undue stress is placed on the exhibition aspects. Today we place an equal or greater value on other means of culminating a social studies unit. We are concerned with the value of the activity for the students themselves, rather than with the impression the pupils make on an audience. We recognize that there are several parts to an adequate culmination.

A review and summary of all the work of the unit, and a consideration of the significance of what has been learned is an essential part of tying it together at the close. This may be done in a direct fashion, through discussing and listing the main points that have been studied. Older children may prepare written lists or summaries.

Review games of various sorts may be used—quiz games, for which pupils prepare the questions, are a favorite scheme with many intermediate grade youngsters. Debates or panel discussions may be used for summarizing purposes with older pupils. Less formal ways of summarizing are more suitable with younger children. For example, they may discuss “what we have learned,” with the teacher listing main points on the blackboard.

Usually some action activity in which children use their new information is an important part of the unit culmination. A unit on forests and lumber, for example, may culminate in a forest conservation activity. The class may sponsor a tree-planting project, if this is appropriate to their community. Or, in certain regions of the country the group may conduct a school-wide educational campaign

about preventing forest fires and protecting the wild-flowers in woodland recreational areas. The traditional program or exhibit may fit in here, so long as it is kept in perspective.

Evaluation of student progress and of the procedures through which the unit was developed is another major aspect of the culmination. There has been continuing evaluation at appropriate points throughout a well-taught unit, of course, but a summary evaluation is also needed.

We sometimes fall into certain pitfalls in providing for unit evaluation. Far too often we test the student's retention of information about the unit, and consider our job done. That is, we do not attempt to evaluate in terms of all the unit objectives, but focus on one aspect of them. We need to evaluate the child's growth in social studies skills, and his development of attitudes. We can certainly get some measure of the pupil's proficiency in skills, through paper and pencil tests and through evaluative assignments in which he must apply the skills. It is true that growth in attitudes is not susceptible to objective measurement through conventional evaluation instruments. Nevertheless we can get some indication of what is happening to a child's value patterns by observing his behavior in work situations and especially in his relationships with others.

Another kind of evaluation that we often neglect or do not carry out effectively is pupil self-evaluation. Most of us would probably agree that unless pupil self-evaluation is carefully handled it is worse than useless. Yet if we expect to have our instruction carry over into the child's daily living and his future growth, teaching him to evaluate his own work as a basis for future progress is one of the most important things we can teach him. Perhaps pupil self-evaluation can be carried on most effectively if it is removed from the grading process. It is probably most effective if it is conducted rather informally: but it must be based on definite criteria that pupil and teacher can discuss together. Certainly self-evaluation should be approached positively, with the pupil comparing his performance with his own past record and identifying areas of strength as well as areas of needed improvement. We would probably also agree that pupils should be encouraged to evaluate their own work as it moves along, not only at the end of the unit.

As we culminate a unit of study, it is a healthy thing to help children recognize areas in which they need further study as well as helping them to see what they have accomplished. A part of being informed about a significant topic is recognizing that one still has much to learn about it. In our efforts to give children a sense of success and achievement, we have sometimes overlooked this other side of the coin. But the really effective social studies unit will leave the pupil with some unanswered questions that he needs to investigate further. He must learn to draw conclusions, but recognize them as subject to revision as he gets additional information. And he can begin to learn this at a very early age, if we help him.

The culmination of a successful social studies unit will provide some bridges to the next unit of study, if there is an adequate sequence in the year's work. The gradual initiation of the next unit will thus begin during the closing phases of the current unit.

SOME CRITICAL QUESTIONS IN DEVELOPING TEACHABLE UNITS

If we are to have teachable units that are focused on definite unit goals, we must resist the idea that every worthwhile social studies experience is to be included in the unit. There are several kinds of social studies experiences that children need that should be dealt with as they arise, outside of the unit of study. One of these is study of current events. Even in the primary grades appropriate attention to the news of the day is a part of a well-balanced social studies program. In the intermediate grades, current affairs should be dealt with on a more mature level, suitable to the age and interests of these older children. To limit current affairs discussion to events related to the on-going unit of study would not give the child the experience he needs in dealing with the news of the day. To strive for far-fetched or phony relationships between current events and the organized unit would violate the basic principles of unit organization.

Holidays and other special days are another example of recurrent themes that should be treated in the elementary social studies program, but that are likely not to be a part of an organized unit. For example, we certainly should not overlook the opportunity that

Washington's birthday gives us to develop constructive loyalties to the nation. We should not waste the chance that United Nations Day gives us to acquaint even little children with the concept of peoples working together.

Then there are specific projects which may arise out of children's interests and can carry important learnings, but not be a part of the organized unit of study. I remember the primary grade class that must have gained some important civic learnings from a short but effective project of picking up scattered lunch bags from the back part of the school yard, as a lesson to older students. Someone in the class had the idea, and the plan was made and carried out during their social studies time—but it was not part of the unit on the post office which they were studying at the moment. An intermediate grade class planned and carried out a Halloween Unicef campaign, and learned something about both Unicef and citizen action. And the activity was carried on along with but not as part of the organized unit.

At times children come in with a specific social studies question that has been stimulated by a television program or a visitor in the home. We should welcome the interest, and deal with it at the level at which it is expressed unless there is reason for pushing more deeply into it. Sometimes, it is true, we can capitalize on such a specific question to lay the basis for a new unit of work, or a sub-unit of the current study. But Ruth Ellsworth has commented wisely, it seems to me, when she reminded us that "Life is not all lived in units, but also in strands, in interests, and in jobs to be done." Some of the strands and interests may hark back to an earlier unit of study, some may look ahead to a coming unit, but many will be quite unrelated to any systematic study that the class will do during the year.

There are many significant aspects of his social environment that a child needs to learn about, that do not present him with problem decisions, in which he must choose between alternative courses of action. "How do roads and cars help us in our daily lives?" presents a question to be answered through the transportation unit, but not a problem to be solved by action. On the other hand, many elementary social studies units have problem aspects and some are truly problem centered. A unit on food, for example, may focus in any one of its

sub-units on the problem. "What foods should I eat to be healthy and weigh the right amount?" Here is a question which calls for learning information and also calls for some action on the part of each pupil. A unit on "Safety at home and school" can easily become problem-centered for boys and girls. There is no doubt that problem-solving units or sub-units bring vitality to the elementary social studies program—providing the problems are real to the children who are studying them. We would use a problem-solving emphasis in any unit where it can be developed realistically.

In summary, we can say that social studies units become teachable and learnable under certain conditions, which are subject to the teacher's control. They must deal with socially significant content that the children, at their level of maturity, can become interested in. The unit content must be such that the children can understand it by building on their experience background. But if it is to be challenging and stimulating the unit must carry the youngster beyond this present level of experience. The teachable unit will be sharply focused on a few selected objectives. It will utilize teacher-pupil planning, and a variety of materials and procedures. It will fit into the social studies sequence for the year's work, and into the total elementary school program. It will have problem-solving aspects, if they can be developed realistically. Finally, the teachable social studies unit will not try to carry the total load of social studies learnings. It will be developed alongside special projects and the treatment of immediate interests that children express.

The Responsibility of the Kindergarten in the Schools' Readiness Program

ILSE FOREST*

THE CONCEPT of readiness is pivotal in today's discussion of the curriculum for young children. Originally used in educational psychology as a synonym for "set" or that condition of the organism in which to act gives satisfaction and not to act gives annoyance, "a readiness curriculum" is presently used to describe a certain type of teaching program which is directed toward developing in children interest in as well as a capacity for mastering elementary school subjects. Thus we speak of "reading readiness," "number readiness," "writing readiness" and so forth when we are considering our objectives in the kindergarten and lower grades.

For more than fifty years educational psychologists in our country have directed attention to the practical problems of school instruction and learning as well as their theoretical aspects. Since learning to read was so generally thought to be the most important and the most complex task confronting the young child and his teachers, it was natural that those interested in early education should concern themselves first with the possibilities of improving reading instruction. As Dr. Arthur I. Gates has stated the situation,

"Most children come to school with the impression, often a correct one, that the biggest task before them is learning to read. The home and the community, and sometimes the school, regard a child's success in learning to read as the most crucial test of his intellectual equipment. If he learns to read, all is well: if he does not, he is a failure or a dullard or both."¹

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¹ "What Research Says to the Teacher" No. 1, Dept. of Classroom Teachers, Amer. Educ. Res. Assoc. of the N.E.A. Washington, D.C., 1953.

Dr. Gates and many other specialists in the field undertook accordingly to study the personal qualities and the previous experiences of young children which seemed to affect, either positively or negatively, their ability to learn to read.

Concurrently, the researches of Dr. Arnold Gesell and his associates as well as many other studies of human development underscored the fact that in the achievement of any skill "the development of structure must precede the development of function." The resulting stress upon the importance, for his success in learning, of the child's general maturation, influenced the attitude of educators toward the teaching of the complex skills required in reading; if the child was organically "unready" to read, nothing seemed to be gained by trying to induce him to learn. This point of view, shared by many progressive teachers, in conjunction with some confusion as to the best method of teaching reading, had its share in creating the public dissatisfaction with the school's measure of success in such teaching, and in piling up the wave of criticism to which that so well-sold little book "Why Johnny Can't Read" gave added cogency.

Meanwhile, among educational psychologists as well as people involved in the teaching of young children, a reappraisal of the "readiness" notion was underway. Granted that there is no hope of teaching a child to read until he is "ready" to do so, what, if anything, might be done to accelerate the appearance of this happy condition? The answer to this question was sought through studying the specific skills required for reading competence, and in beginning to work out tentative programs that might be helpful in developing these skills in young children. Granted that certain abilities involved in reading are the direct result of maturation, it still seemed likely that many habits and attitudes that assist the *functioning* of the child's native capacity might be cultivated through well planned education experiences. Readiness then came to be understood *not* as a condition for the appearance of which teachers sit back and wait patiently, but rather as a combination of qualities many of which might be developed through skillful teaching. While the maturation of the structures involved in, for instance, eye coordination, cannot be directly accelerated, the use of these structures once they are ready may be encouraged through appropriate stimulation. Teachers

can make reading attractive, encourage an interest in books, help the young child keep a sequence of ideas in mind, show him how to get pleasure and information from picture study, long before he is able to read a printed page.

The kindergarten, since it is the immediate prelude to what is considered formal schooling, is a most appropriate situation in which to study the whole question of how best to cultivate readiness as well as to experiment with readiness activities. This has become especially evident since the idea of readiness has expanded to include not only reading but the entire elementary curriculum. Actually, competent kindergarten teachers have always worked at the business of getting children "set" for school entrance, regardless of the particular terms they used in describing what they were doing. Helping children grow in social and emotional stability has always been a major aim, together with physical growth and welfare. The development of *concepts* has been a constant concern in good kindergarten procedure; the development of varied interests and the constant sharing of experiences have been means toward this end. The community and its workers, holidays and festivals, the natural surroundings in which children live, their homes, their families—all these vital concerns are introduced into the kindergarten program. Art experiences, music, games, excursions—all of these activities are directed toward the development of personal maturity in each pupil as well as toward deepening his understanding of the world in which he lives.

In recent years there has been increasing pressure on kindergarten teachers to move with the times and, in effect, to alter their programs to the degree that their classes impress the observer as being more and more like junior first grades. With all the rest of the school, the kindergarten has been accused of wasting children's time, particularly gifted children's time. The demand of many parents and some administrators is for greater formality, more restriction of free play activities, a serious attempt to prepare children directly for later school work, in fact, more efforts to put small noses to the grindstone. At the same time rapidly increasing enrollments without commensurate increases in teaching staff or play areas have complicated the kindergarten management problem so that it is a temptation to many teachers to regiment their classes. It is much easier

to get through the session if the children are made to be quiet, and formal teaching helps keep them that way. All-in-all, there is a formidable alliance of pressures in the direction of going in for a fairly strenuous school readiness program.

Meanwhile, the task of the kindergarten remains essentially what it always was, namely, to provide the best possible opportunities for growth for children of kindergarten age. Insofar as modifications and changes are concerned, these should be made after careful, continuing appraisal of what kindergarten children's needs are, in the year 1960 in our particular culture, and how these needs differ from the needs of their predecessors twenty-five and fifty years ago.

The great majority of our kindergarten children are from four-and-a-half to six or six-and-a-half. Thus they have lived in our contemporary culture from fifty-four to eighty months or thereabouts. They are enrolled in kindergarten for two school terms, unless some unusual circumstance holds them there for an extra term or two. There is great rigidity nearly everywhere about the age requirement for entrance, necessitated by severely limited facilities in the face of large enrollment demand. If Johnny was born twelve crucial hours later than his cousin Susie, he will not be enrolled in school until he is one year less twelve hours older than she is when she enters kindergarten—at least not in a crowded school system. He may be placed in a private nursery school, or even a day care center, but he will not be in a "regular" public school kindergarten. This is hard on him and on his parents, but it is also very hard on the people who really want to give him the easiest possible path into the elementary school and its curriculum. It puts pressure on the nursery school teacher to introduce a readiness program into her set-up; or it necessitates a special sort of "readiness" program for Johnny and his contemporaries when he does get to school.

Obviously, too, the kindergarten is in the position of needing to provide for the richest type of experience for children who may be either nearly five, or nearly six, or anywhere in between, for one school year. *This needs to be kept in mind when considering the "readiness" program—this as well as the wide range of maturity existing in any unselected group of nearly four- or nearly five-year-old children to begin with.*

While a large majority of today's kindergarten children are approximately the same age as were their parents and their grandparents—if and when these progenitors attended kindergarten—the vast differences in their cultural surroundings certainly require differences in the content of the modern in contrast to the older kindergarten curriculum. Our kindergarten youngsters, in some ways at least, have had far more opportunity for education before coming to kindergarten than once was the case; they are also under far greater pressures. A frightened adult public demands that they grow up fast and provide the genius that is needed to meet competition in scientific achievement or to guide public affairs. Unquestionably, the right sort of a readiness program, which will help them meet demands both in school and after, seems to be called for, and the kindergarten should play an important part in the development of such a program. To those of us who are especially interested in early childhood education, it seems most important that the insight of the kindergarten teacher into the nature and characteristics of the child at this age, and the principles represented by kindergarten theory at its best find intelligent expression in proposed "readiness" procedures.

After Froebel first conceived of the kindergarten, he exerted continued thought and effort and eventually earned the distinction of being the first person to develop a theory of education together with a *method* of carrying it out. Most of his more detailed suggestions have been discarded for decades as archaic but an important residue of basic truth remains and must not be repudiated thoughtlessly. Froebel saw the importance of play in the development of the young child; he understood that the child "works" at his play, and that therefore play resembles the "creative" work of the artist, since in both instances "work" is engaged in for its own sake and is its own reward. Play is the characteristic *method* of the kindergarten, since only in play is the whole child's effort spontaneously exerted. In many important activities, it is not so much what you do but how you do it that counts; this is especially true in teaching.

There are many people who do not appreciate the educative value of play, therefore of real kindergarten either. These are the people who want "serious work" introduced, because they think play is "mere playing" which they equate with "just fooling." As kinder-

garten teachers react to the new readiness programs, they may not ignore this critical observation altogether. Some kindergarten work HAS been mere fooling; some of it has failed to challenge the well developed five-year-old because it gave him nothing to grow on—was, in fact, simply silly. But to admit this is far from discrediting play as a method. The fact of the matter is that play with content that challenges, play with rules, play which dramatizes what adults do, is still the best way for kindergarten children to “learn” provided the content is rich and the teacher skillful enough to maintain genuine effort on the pupils’ part. The mature play of the eager, alert space age five-year-old can be distinguished from work as we understand it only by the way the child involves himself in it: the whole self plays, whereas only part of the self works in the nose-to-the-grindstone sense of the word. The rest of the self has its eye on the clock, or whatever the five-year-old equivalent of this preoccupation may be.

The day when the kindergarten teacher can look superior when he is criticized and say, “This is *kindergarten*; you just don’t understand,” is happily over. The kindergarten must be understood, and we must make it easily understandable by taking an intelligent part in the readiness program. Kindergarten teachers need to participate intelligently and heartily in the development of this: to suggest, to try, to evaluate constructively what others are suggesting and trying.

Here we shall take as an illustration part of a very fine piece of work, the result of intelligent, cooperative effort by a group of teachers under excellent leadership for a number of years. The introductory statement by the superintendent of the school system states that the purpose of this readiness curriculum is “to provide suggestions and guidance in the planning of kindergarten activities. The material suggests a basic program, allowing for flexibility and creativeness in meeting the needs and interests of all our kindergarten classes.”²

Here are the objectives as stated relating to reading readiness:

- To develop an appreciation for books and reading.
- To develop proper speech habits.

² Alan Shankland, Superintendent, South Euclid-Lyndhurst City Schools, Cleveland, Ohio.

- To enlarge vocabulary and encourage proper use of new words.
- To stimulate creative thinking.
- To develop the skill of organizing ideas in proper sequence.
- To develop the ability to associate ideas.
- To develop powers of visual perception.
- To develop powers of auditory discrimination.

With these objectives all kindergarten teachers must surely concur; some of them will say that these have always been implied in kindergarten activities. This is probably true: but have they always been pursued by the best *method*? Have they been systematically striven for? Has the whole effort of the child been engaged? Each kindergarten had best answer these questions for herself.

Let us now consider some of the methods suggested by this group of authors.

Under *objective 1*, To develop appreciation for books and reading, we find:

- Develop rules for library corner: include careful handling of books, how to turn pages, one book at a time, return books to shelf, etc.

Under *objective 2*, To develop proper speech habits:

- Teacher acts a good example by her own careful speech.
- Discuss good speech helpers—tongue, mouth, teeth, lips.
- When taking attendance, encourage children to answer in a sentence.
- Before playing a game, let a child explain the rules.*

Under *objective 3*, Enlargement of vocabulary and encouragement of proper use of words:

- Introduce and discuss words that describe visual qualities such as colors, shapes, and sizes; words that describe space relationships such as "up" "down" "high" "low."
- Develop experience charts.
- Plan field trips.
- Make a picture dictionary.

Under *objective 4*, To stimulate creative thinking:

- Provide toys which will encourage creative play.
- Let children interpret music through rhythmic activities.

* Under each objective, only a random sample of many activities suggested is included here.

Provide media for freedom of expression—clay, paints, etc.

Compose invitations, thank-you notes, get well messages.

Make up a short, imaginative story and let a child tell how it might end.

Under objective 5, Organizing ideas in sequence:

Following a field trip, discuss just what happened.

Re-telling stories.

Placing illustrations in proper sequence.

Reviewing rules of a game or directions for handwork.

Under objective 6, Developing the ability to associate ideas:

Use many riddles with children.

Have children sort pictures into categories: all animals, all fruits, all pictures about the home, etc.

Tell simple story and insert irrelevant statement; encourage children to pick out the part that didn't belong.

Use worksheets of pictures and through a riddle type situation, children color correct picture blue, red, or any other suggested color.

Under objective 7, The development of powers of visual perception:

Provide such materials as picture blocks, design cubes, jig-saw puzzles and picture bingo.

Use simple worksheets of pictures with such directions as finding two objects just alike, or one object that is different.

Use activities in readiness booklet provided.

Make bead cards—vary size, shape and number.

Children string beads according to pattern on card.

Under objective 8, To develop powers of auditory discrimination:

Do much with finger plans and poetry.

Use rhyming words and insert one non-rhyming word; have children identify the non-rhyming.

Have children repeat rhythmic patterns tapped by teacher.

Use activities in workbook provided.

The kindergarten teachers who have developed these guides do not leave their suggestions hanging in air, on a theoretical level, but generously provide practical suggestions, illustrations, tentative descriptions of how to go about implementing the kindergarten program.

Probably many of you who are reading this have been involved in working on similar projects; let us use this fine example for purposes of study.

The readiness objectives as stated would certainly be approved by kindergarten specialists; many would say that they have been working toward these all along. If someone countered such an assertion with the question, "Have you been working steadily, planfully, and consistently?" a truthful answer would be, "No" in many cases. Many kindergarten teachers take too easy refuge in generalities, and believe they are working toward objectives "all the time," or, "in everything we do." If we are to meet today's expectations and take the lead in a readiness program such glittering generalities are out of place. We must know how, when, and where we work toward which specific aims.

When we turn to the suggested activities our reaction cannot be one of unqualified acceptance. These seem to fall into categories something like the following:

1. Those which are of unquestioned value: careful handling of books—(they belong to all of us), setting an example of good speech, letting children explain rules—if they are able), discussing and planning for a field trip, providing toys which encourage creative play, re-telling stories, sorting pictures in categories—(flowers, fruits, etc.), using picture puzzles and design blocks, repeating rhythmic patterns—and many others.
2. Certain other suggestions that are surely good ones for well-developed five-and-a-half-year-olds: turning pages of books properly, encouraging children to use complete sentences (at times), introducing words that describe qualities and encouraging good ones, suggesting endings for imaginative stories, reviewing the rules of a game, using riddles—and inventing some), playing picture-bingo, reading much poetry.
3. Certain others which are excellent, but only for six- or near six-year-olds *who are in effect ready for first grade*. And our modern kindergartens *have many such children on their rolls*. For example: (Always) returning books to shelf; one book at a time, discussing good speech helpers—lips, tongue, mouth, teeth, developing experience charts, any and all workbook activities, copying bead stringing designs from cards.

These inclusions and exclusions, it should be understood, reflect the opinion of the present writer. The opinion, again, is based on the following considerations.

The kindergarten session is short—a mere two-and-one-half to three hours—and most children enjoy only one full year's kindergarten experience. Much of this, if we are to credit the opinion of experts, needs to be devoted to *concept formation*, to rich group experience of doing things and talking about them and clearing up the five-year-old's ideas about his surrounding world, physical and social. He needs not just a little but much and varied experience in "getting the feel" of materials and finding out what he can do with them, and how they "react" if he does thus and so. He needs singing for the sheer joy of singing and hanging on an instrument for the joy of it—also touching it gently, at times, for the same joy. It is difficult to see where one can find the time for workbooks and the formal activities usual for first grade when there is so much to be done in laying the foundations for more formal readiness activities.

There is also the question of how to use time effectively once we have engaged the child's attention: when the attention begins to slip, we are not getting one hundred percent return for our teaching effort. The attention span of fives is not long; we can keep it at optimum length by holding to the characteristic kindergarten method of *play*. When we try to hold children to activities which do not command their spontaneous interest and effort our teaching loses momentum.

Too much teaching of a formal sort also impinges on the time needed for physical activity, for big muscle exercise, for release of physical tension through action. Fives are still growing very rapidly, and their neuro-muscular development is far from mature despite their appearance of grace and poise. Seat work needs to be scanned carefully in this connection—many eye specialists appear to favor the deferral of reading until six-and-a-half or seven on the ground of immaturity.

On the other hand, it would seem that every kindergarten teacher should have the knowledge and competence to provide worthwhile, meaningful activities for well-developed six-year-olds. She needs to learn all that there is to know—for instance, all that a guide such as the one we have studied provides. We have wasted the time of older

pupils and made behavior problems of them in the past, through lack of knowledge and skill, and slavish adherence to "kindergarten" custom. Undoubtedly in some places we are still wasting time, with meager stimulation provided for our pupils and consequently much precious time wasted in "just fooling."

Our task is adequate, openminded, intelligent leadership in the development of good readiness programs. Not only, of course, in reading, but also in numbers, science, music—the whole gamut of the elementary curriculum. Each of these curriculum areas needs continued scrutiny and analysis to determine how best to develop readiness.

The original Froebelian kindergarten included much that was speculative and sentimental in its theory, and much that was purposeless, archaic, downright unsuitable for children in practice. At the turn of the century, a group of kindergartners revolted, and, under the leadership of Patty Smith Hill and others, made of the kindergarten an excellent illustration of progressive education. The time is past due when kindergartners should again take hold of the situation, and recreate their thinking and procedures to meet the needs of today. It was Patty Hill who said, in 1913, when the ghost of the old Froebelian kindergarten had not yet been laid,

"We who are training the kindergarten teacher of the future . . . Are we turning our students' faces toward new avenues of truth? Are we willing to see these investigated and tried out if found worthy of experiment; or are we still initiating them into a body of truth voiced by a great educational prophet three quarters of a century ago? . . . Are we urging our students to outstrip us, to press forward as fast as the vision of a new day dawns?"³

Having declared itself a progressive institution, the kindergarten in 1913 stood ready, to quote from the same source, "to forswear both the name and the system should better ones be found."⁴

In 1960 we cannot afford to be any less courageous.

But the last forty years have seen a great deal of effort devoted

³ Patty Smith Hill. From an address delivered in 1913.

⁴ *Ibid.*

to the task of developing "an educational program geared to child development."⁵ This the new readiness curriculum must be, if it is to be sound and effective. It must now be developed out of relation to the fact that:

The child's personality is a product of slow and natural growth. His nervous system matures by stages and natural sequences. . . . All his abilities, even his morals, are subject to the laws of growth. The task of child care is not to mould the child behavioristically to some predetermined image, but to assist him step by step, guiding his growth.

"This developmental philosophy does not mean indulgence. It is, instead, a constructive accommodation to the limitations of immaturity."⁶

We need all the intelligence and all the industry that we can muster as we face the future in the field of early childhood education, as we help to develop the new readiness programs. Let us by all means look forward, but let us be most careful not to ignore the results of fifty years of patient research in child development—lest by any unhappy chance we figuratively "throw out the baby with the bath."

⁵ Arthur Jersild. *Child Development and the Curriculum*. p. 11.

⁶ Arnold Gesell and Frances Ilg. *The Child from Five to Ten*, pp. 35 f.

Effective Methods of Articulation: Elementary and Secondary Schools

ESTHER J. SWENSON*

PROFESSIONAL DISCUSSIONS of continuity of learning for school children have in recent years been directed to the learner's view of the situation much more than was true of discussions of articulation between school levels some years back. The 1958 Yearbook of the Association for Supervision and Curriculum Development is called *A Look at Continuity in the School Program*. An analysis showed that there are four types of situations in which students reported help or hindrance in their progress through school, namely: moving to a new school community; teacher behavior; subject matter; and moving to a new school level. Together these four situations account for almost three-fourths of all situations reported. They would seem to merit, therefore, very serious consideration by all persons who are concerned about the school progress of children and about their general mental health and wellbeing.

These four most frequent situations may appear on the surface to be rather diverse but a study of children's comments about them shows an underlying similarity. The unifying idea which runs through them is the idea of having to make a transition. Sometimes the transition is made successfully, sometimes not; but the children recognize the significance of the occasion and the importance of their success or failure in negotiating the transition situation. For instance, the transition from the elementary school to the junior high school often involves the use of different transportation facilities, association with more classmates who are strangers, getting acquainted with several new teachers instead of the one home room teacher in the elementary school, and many differences in procedure such as the constant move-

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ment from room to room and variations among teachers as to making assignments or the routines of classroom management.

At times the drawing of analogies between the experiences of human beings and life processes outside the human realm can be very fruitful. Take, for example, an analogy between the transplanting of green plants and the "transplanting" of children. The obvious reason for drawing such an analogy is that both are living, ongoing entities; both have life. One distinction which is made between animals and plants is that animals are generally capable of voluntary motion while plants are not. No dogwood tree or African violet plant ever controls the *when* or the *how* or the *where* of its transplanting, nor even the decision to be moved. This is so obvious as to seem ridiculous when stated. But this is also often true of children and the type of "transplanting" to which they are subjected.

Elementary school children certainly and secondary school students usually do not have very much control over the types of transition mentioned earlier. They do not decide whether or when their fathers shall get a new job and move the whole family to a new community. They do not decide where they are to be placed when teachers and administrators make up class sections. They do not decide how or when they shall take up division of fractions. Both parents and teachers might well pause to consider how frequently children are subjected to major or minor transition with no more control of the situation than a plant has when it is transplanted.

The fear or the challenge of the new and strange—that is, the fear or the challenge of the unknown—is a larger part of children's success or failure in satisfactory articulation of their learning experiences than adults sometimes realize. How much of the familiar is needed to balance with the new and the strange is different for every human being. It varies also in terms of the help which is available in making the transition. The more a gardener knows about his plants—the better he can handle the job of *transplanting them from one plant home to another*. Also, the more he knows about plants in general, the more apt he is to do the right things and avoid the wrong procedures in moving them.

So it is with teachers and the school children who are, for one reason or another, transplanted. The teacher who understands a

certain child and his problems can help prepare him for moving to a new and strange situation. The more the child's new teacher knows about him and about children in general, the more likely he is to be of help in making the adjustment as successful as possible. Just as the naturalist adjusts his techniques so the wise teacher adjusts orientation techniques for individual learners. Much is said, partly in jest and partly in earnest, about gardeners with a "green thumb"; but there is more to successful horticulture and successful teaching than luck and a natural bent for the work. Knowledge and interest and effort have much to do with success in either field.

Some children can adjust quickly and easily to rather wide variations as to social and psychological climate and as to the physical factors in the environment; others are easily disturbed by such changes and can tolerate only minimum variations without suffering considerable hardship. Perhaps an optimum continuity of experience for a child in school is achieved when he has enough change to lend interest and variety and challenge but enough similarity of circumstance to lend stability and to promote growth toward appropriate objectives. Such continuity is most apt to be achieved when the differences between situations to which the child must adjust are not too great. In the child's school life, this means that the difference must be manageable *for him*—whether they be differences in physical environment, curriculum, social relations, teaching-learning procedures, or the mechanics of school regulations. It also means that the child must not need to deal with too many differences at once.

The consequences of transplanting living things are far-reaching and some of them irrevocable. In the ASCD research cited earlier in which 3,000 children told about situations in which they had been helped or hindered in their progress through school, positive and negative comments were rather evenly divided. "Half good and half bad" is hardly a satisfactory balance in this case. Many improvements need to be made in the ways by which teachers and administrators approach the problems pupils face when they are transplanted from old and familiar situations to new and strange ones. The situation is by no means hopeless, however. The teacher or administrator who recognizes his responsibilities in connection with children's problems

in adjusting to new and different situations also takes note of many factors. A few detailed parallels might be appropriate in indicating some of the adjustments made by plants and by children.

For most plants soil is an essential. They need something to take root in. So do school children. They need the security of warm human relations in a schoolroom where they can feel at home. They need to be accepted by teacher and classmates as belonging in that group and being welcome there.

Plants need water. John Burroughs summed up the situation for watering plants when he said, "Water the ground thoroughly. It should be kept moist, but not muddy, during the first year." Water for the plant might well be compared to the refreshing word of encouragement for a pupil. Perhaps a teacher's clear explanation of an idea or a situation could refresh and lift the spirit. The experience of success in a learning activity has the same effect. However, children should not be smothered with affection or drowned in sentimentality. The school's aim should always be to provide a setting in which the children can stand erect as independent individuals.

Sunlight is equally necessary to plants and to pupils. The schoolroom should be cheery both physically and psychologically. Time and money spent on making classrooms attractive is time and money very well spent. To countless numbers of children, the school building is the most attractive interior they ever see; it is important that it be made as attractive an environment for learning as possible. But the environment for learning is much more than amount of floor space, adequate lighting, pleasing color schemes and well-kept and functional furniture. The psychological environment for learning is even more important. A well-lighted learning environment has not only the cheery light of happy human relations but has as well the illuminating light of understanding which helps the learner move from fuzzy notions to clearly delineated ideas. Occasionally the learner experiences the shining inspiration of a sharp new insight. How much of this sparkle lights the daily routine in the average classroom? How much real sunlight is there and how many gloomy shadows of monotonous repetition of fact and phrase dulled by too little real thought and too little real concern? Again, we must remember the dangers of excess.

Too much sunlight can be damaging to both plants and humans. The sunlight of ileas, as any other, must be used to warm and light, not to burn.

Some plants may be moved at any time of year; others can more successfully be transplanted only at certain seasons. Some learning tasks for children too may be assigned at any time, for example, the everyday and never-ending learning of acceptable social behavior. Other learning tasks have their appropriate seasons. For example, subject matter in mathematics tends to be more prescribed by sequences of concepts and processes than does subject matter in social studies. Even in mathematics, however, the sequence need not be nearly so rigid as is commonly believed. More important is the sequence of learnings in terms of each child's own experience. How simple it would be if all learners in a class would be ready for each learning task all at once! But this is not true, and we must teach accordingly, to each in his season of readiness. The child who is transplanted into a new school setting may have been operating in a different sequential pattern of studies; the wise teacher will find out as much as possible about that pattern of past learning while helping the pupil to adjust from it to the new one. The wise teacher will also recognize that the child should not do all the adjusting, even with help; the teacher and the pattern must adjust also to meet varied pupil "seasons."

Maturity of plants should be considered when they are moved from place to place. It is commonly thought that the larger the plant, the poorer the chances of survival.

It might prove to be ridiculous to force the analogy too far here; but it holds rather well in some ways. Young children, when transplanted from one school environment to another, do need much help in getting properly introduced to the new school home, and any help given in preparing them for such change is all to the good; but it may be that school people have not paid enough attention to the difficulties faced by the older school child when he faces similar transition points in his educational history.

The fact that a boy or girl is old enough to enter junior high school or senior high school or even college does not mean that removal from the old school home to the new one is just a routine matter.

Effective Methods of Articulation

Often the minutest of details may cause difficulty, and because they are details the boy or girl hesitates to make a point of them. In the meantime, they become much more than details. For example, a boy moving from elementary school to junior high school is concerned about how he will get a locker in which to keep his things, or the girl entering senior high school in a new community is deeply worried about whether she can find her way around in a much larger building than she has ever known, or the entering college freshman may even hesitate to attend college because he fears the rumored complexity of registration details and procedures. Educators and parents would do well to help students set these details in order before they become barriers to the real business of getting an education.

The horticulturist transplants into physical conditions as similar as possible to those from which the plant came. He plants a tree at the same or nearly the same ground level it had originally. Of course, he might want to improve on a previously unsatisfactory condition; sometimes that is the reason for the transplanting. Even so, if the change is too abrupt, it is not good for the plant. Any person who reads the 3,000 children's reports referred to earlier is bound to be impressed with their recognized need for the security of the familiar. The familiar face in the class, the familiar procedure, the familiar materials, the familiar time schedule are more important than teachers may realize. This does not mean we must resort to static conditions, for these same students also commented frequently on their satisfactory adjustment to the new when they had just a little help in facing it, when they were not expected to change in too many ways in too short a time. At transition points in school experience, we must needs pay attention to the habitat in which the learners can thrive, with enough of the familiar to give security and enough of the new to lead on to new adjustments and new learnings in general.

Finally, any good set of directions for transplanting trees or roses or any other plant emphasizes the need for plenty of room for the roots to grow in. The plant needs room for its roots to spread out in if it is to get proper nourishment and if it is to have a firm footing. Does the school child have enough room for growing when he moves to a new school community, or a higher school level, or when he starts a new subject or gets a new teacher? Every child needs a

type of instruction which leads on to new skills, new insights, new capabilities. Every child needs to experience the satisfaction of being free to learn in ways that make sense to him. The rose hush crowded into a tiny hole with rock-hard walls is in exactly the same situation as that faced by many school children who are crowded into and expected to learn in a prison of rigid curricula and rigid standards and rigid methods and rigid regulations controlled by rigid people. Transition from one learning environment to another may be hard enough at best for many children; certainly they should be allowed room for reaching out to sources of mental, social and emotional nourishment in the new situation. Children need to know that "it's all right" for them to go beyond a uniform assignment; they need to know that "it's all right" to get a right answer by a different method than that used by the teacher or another child; they need to know at once the security and the challenge of the learning environment in which they have room to see where they are headed and have a part in choosing that direction.

The skillful teacher studies the chances for difficulty in any new situation and tries to prepare children for necessary adjustments; he removes unnecessary obstacles to understanding; he works with other teachers to minimize confusion for the child who must in a sense please each of them; he looks at the curriculum as far as he can through the eyes of boys and girls with varied backgrounds of experience and understanding; he seeks to understand children's home environments and to help parents understand the school's expectations; he helps other children to see how they can help the child who feels strange. When the teacher does these things, he is rewarded for his efforts. The child loses none of his zest for school learning; it may increase. He maintains a lively interest in his new experiences and is challenged by them. He stands straight and tall among new-found friends. Best of all, like the successful transplant, he sends out new shoots of growth. In school achievement, in social relations, and in personal development he blossoms into fuller living and learning. When these signs appear, the teacher knows that the transplanted child has taken root and is at home.

IV

Secondary Education

The High School in a New Era

FRANCIS S. CHASE*

THREE CHARACTERISTICS of the present age are producing repercussions that are being felt in every phase of education.

The first of these characteristics is the continuing multiplication of knowledge. Much of this new knowledge, as the physicist Robert Oppenheimer remarked, is not part of man's common knowledge but the property of specialized communities of scholars and yet often has profound implications for human society. The new concepts which arise from the explorations of science not only require constant revision of curriculum content but also call for a new view of the nature of knowledge. Moreover, the knowledge with which the schools must deal is further augmented by the necessity for understanding other cultures once considered so remote as to have little impact on the ordinary citizen of this country.

The second characteristic, and one which has received major attention, is the continuing revolution in man's accustomed ways of doing things as a result of the application of technology to transportation, communication, production, and warfare. So many consequences for education flow from this factor that it would be difficult even to enumerate them. One of the more important is the steady replacement of occupations requiring only a low level of literacy and skill by occupations requiring precision in the use of language, skill in the use of mathematics, and the exercise of judgment. This confronts schools with the necessity of providing for a majority of the population a quality of education hitherto expected of only a small minority. The new technology has also produced another effect with which the schools must cope. I refer to the exposure of the young through television and radio to a mass of ideas, information, and propaganda presented with a vividness and persuasiveness which the schools can

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hardly hope to equal. Neither the home nor the school at present is exercising any very effective controls over the selection of this content which inescapably contributes to the education or miseducation of every individual growing up in our society.

There is a third characteristic of our times, the implications of which are enormous, although as yet largely unanalyzed. I refer to the spread among all segments of society of aspirations to develop one's own powers, to have a voice in affairs, and to live a good life. These aspirations in the past have been largely the property of the privileged classes in most societies and of the middle and upper classes in modern industrial societies. It was in America that children of the working class were first encouraged to aspire to full development of their talents and to any place in society that their abilities might win for them. Even in this country the dream has been slow of realization and in some submerged groups even the aspiration to equal opportunity in education and employment was stifled until recently. Today, members of groups formerly inarticulate are finding a voice and demanding as a right equal access to education, to economic opportunity, and to participation in the making of public policy. All of these newly articulate people in this country as well as in the so-called under-developed countries see education as a means to the achievement of their new found aspirations.

It may be said that the increase of knowledge is a phenomenon as old as civilization, that the unsettling effects of technical advance are at least as old as the industrial revolution, and that the spreading of human aspirations has been a constant accompaniment of mankind's progress from savagery. Yet these forces are moving in our day with a speed and power unknown to former ages. In contrast there is yet only a dim and partial perception of the task involved in reconstructing our schools to take account of the new knowledge, the new technology, and the other new demands on education. Because the magnitude of the task is not clearly understood, the planning has been piecemeal and the nation has not yet mobilized the resources necessary to achieving the scope and quality of education which the times demand.

Analysis of the new demands on education foreshadows the direc-

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tion of the coming changes in education. Among the measures requiring prompt and vigorous action are the following:

There must be rigorous revision of the content in all subjects to replace outmoded concepts and second-rate materials with the best that can be selected from the major fields of knowledge. To moving ahead with programs for curriculum revision care should be taken to create a plan and mode of operation which will lead to continuing revision to take account of new knowledge and new needs. The process of curriculum reconstruction requires two complementary approaches: (1) reorganization of the content in each major area of knowledge by specialists in the relevant disciplines in collaboration with competent teachers and students of the educative process; and (2) development of criteria for preserving balance in the curriculum and for determining patterns of organization and sequence of learning experience.

The universities and colleges must contrive better programs for the selection and preparation of teachers. The redesigning of the curriculum is no guarantee of improved learning unless teachers understand the concepts underlying the reformulated curriculum and incorporate these concepts in their own teaching. It is important to provide workshops and conferences to which faculty members from teacher-educating institutions and able teachers from the schools are encouraged both to contribute to curriculum development and to acquire the understandings necessary for effective teaching of the new materials.

Schools must be organized to encourage each individual to move at his own pace toward goals appropriate for him. To accomplish this, ways must be found of varying the size and composition of groups of learners in order to take into account both the particular kinds of experience to be provided and the ability of particular students to profit by given bodies of content and modes of instruction. Through wider use of the library and of automatic teaching devices each learner should be helped to move at his own pace, and much more time should be set aside for independent study. In well organized schools where motivation for learning is high, many students may well spend up to half of each school day in the library, a laboratory,

or a workshop of some kind. Technological progress, while creating new problems for schools, is also providing devices which may be used to facilitate and individualize learning. For example, schools may have exhibition rooms and individual cubicles where films and videotapes can be shown when needed; automate teaching machines and manuals may be provided through which the individual can develop certain kinds of skills; and tape recording devices may be used to permit him to check his own progress in language and other fields.

Schools must be staffed by teachers with a variety of specialized abilities and organized in such a way that these varied talents can be put to effective use in motivating and guiding learners. In the first place teachers must be freed from the excessive burden of clerical, custodial and police functions. In the second place, they must be relieved of the laborious and often ineffective attempts to communicate through lectures information that can be provided better through books, films, or television. In the third place, they must be organized into teams so that each teacher may give major attention to those aspects of learning in which he has a special proficiency; and in the fourth place each team of teachers under the leadership of a full-time highly qualified career teacher must be given greater responsibility for determining the learning goals and experiences for the students whom the team serves.

Parents and teachers must join forces in encouraging adolescents to set higher goals for achievement and to develop habits of self-directed and sustained study. Not only should more be expected of the gifted and of the academically talented but those of average and of less than average ability should be given the motivation that comes from a challenge to surpass their own previous achievements. The heightened expectations should be sustained by continuing appraisal of student progress and assistance in removing obstacles to learning.

A NEW IMAGE OF THE SCHOOL

A new image of the school is emerging, one in which the focus will be on learning rather than on teaching and teaching will be thought of not so much as a means of imparting knowledge as a way to

stimulate and guide learning. Great ingenuity will be exercised to bring together a large variety of resources for learning and to create situations through which learning progress can be motivated, systematized, and appraised for each individual. The aims of the school will be more sharply defined and will emphasize cultivation of the powers to reflect upon ideas, to weigh evidence, to reach reasoned conclusions, and to enter as fully as possible into the highest achievements and aspirations of mankind.

The new high school will expect more of all with whom it deals and will provide recognition for worthy achievement of all kinds, but especially of those achievements which stretch the mind and widen the horizons. It will offer a content rigorously selected with regard both to the worth of the ideas embodied and their probable influence on the development of particular learners at particular times. It will encourage each individual to move at his own pace toward goals appropriate for him. It will hold before him many inducements to learning, especially the inducements represented by contact with scholarly and inquiring teachers and the ideas found in great books and other records of human achievement. In all it does, the school will seek to awaken a wish to know and a will to use knowledge for the common good; and will exercise intelligence and imagination in providing more and more effective means toward the achievement of these aspirations by more and more of those with whom it deals.

Problems in Secondary School Curriculum and Instruction

JAMES E. WHEELER*

PUBLIC EDUCATION is undergoing a scrutiny the like of which has not been seen in a century. Some of the problems that Horace Mann faced are with us again, and disappointingly enough, the problems are understood in the same terms that they were in the 1830's.

During the last hundred years many competent and brilliant men and women have devoted their lives and talents to the professional study and practice of education.

It is these professional men who must discharge the responsibility society lays upon them to develop and sustain informed opinion about the problems in their field. They may not abdicate their responsibility for developing reliable knowledge and utilizing it in the public interest. A profession of teaching is an essential in any worthwhile effort to maintain and improve a system of universal education. The preservation of our society depends on an education of quality. We believe that no subject matter is peculiarly or intrinsically educative. Rather, we appreciate the varied resources upon which education may draw. Outworn or sterile traditions have hampered us, no doubt, but an appreciation of potentialities of new material is still a part of our temper. I have heard one teacher call on his fellows to find some subject matter of such intrinsic worth that no matter how dull the student or how inept the teacher, the glory of intellect inherent in the subject matter would shine through. Those who hope that magic will render labor unnecessary are always with us, I suppose. But more disciplined idealists will prefer to hope that inquiry into the problems of learning and teaching, however slowly, will lead men to appreciation of the power of intellect.

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Programs of study are not the essence of education but only a means to it; a tool, available to the master teacher, but they are not in themselves the end of education.

There is all too much tendency at present to fall back on the easy assumption that the introduction of more difficult subject matter in the school program will bring us to the threshold of education salvation. It is true that a good education involves difficulty. Habits of thought of high quality are not easy to achieve. The tendency to temper conviction by the weight of evidence represents a disciplined mind, and a disciplined mind is not easily come by. But because worthwhile things are difficult to achieve it does not follow that whatever is difficult will produce them. What passes for intellectual challenge is often only the frustration inherent in obscure and arbitrary requirements.

A chapter, and a vital one, in intellectual history has yet to be written. It will concern itself with the damage done to the progress of reason by false ideals of what is reasonable. It is not inaccurate to say that perhaps the loudest voices raised in celebration of the ideal of the intellectual life often are those of pedants whose grasp of the nature of intellect is hopelessly outmoded. One of the major reasons why we may safely assume that the great majority of the current criticisms of education will not survive the present climate of opinion is that the authors are so obviously deficient in the very disciplined judgment they celebrate. One may praise the life of reason, but if he does not exemplify it in his own life and work, it is fair to wonder whether the praise does more harm than good. Let me say once more that the development of a sound mind and character is not an easy task either on the part of the teacher or the student. Deliberate and systematic effort is essential. The tough, stable intelligence will not survive a diet of pabulum.

When one asks, however, for an alternative to the mere programs in education, the answer is difficult to give. On the one hand, any alternative is only too likely to constitute simply another program, and on the other those who for another reason offer alternatives are scarcely ever given a fair and complete hearing. He who challenges what conventional wisdom supports does so at a great cost to himself and his reputation. If one suggests that there may be better ways

nilly they must be taken into consideration. Whether we will do so consciously and intelligently, or unconsciously and haphazardly is the only question.

A final remark on this problem. It appears to me that President Conant's emphasis on guidance in his famous report has not been adequately appreciated by schoolmen. It stands in fact as something of a bulwark against excessive attachment to rigid programs. I do not know whether this is Conant's interpretation, but this inference is implicit in the fact.

Now for my second point. I think we must not lose our sense of proportion. Perhaps with the exception of literature, the arts have been grossly neglected in our schools. One may fairly say that all informed persons agree that the progressive education movement made a great contribution to education in introducing other forms of aesthetic experience. And of course arithmetic has often been taught as if it were mere logistics. Students have graduated from our schools without having been introduced to *anything* systematic, anything in the way of an organized subject matter. We are sensitive enough to see these things as inconsistent with our ideals and with our best insight. Right now we face a threat of unusual portent. We are pressed on every side to increase the time devoted to the positive sciences in our schools. An increase would, I imagine, be legitimate enough. But there is grave danger that the present demand for emphasis on science will do great damage to the humanistic studies because it rests on a mistaken idea of the relation between science and the humanities.

In my opinion science is not to be understood as anti-humanistic, or even neutral in all contexts, with respect to human aspirations and ideals. Granted that it is fatal to confuse philosophy of nature with value theory, it is still true that science stands as one of the great monuments of human imagination. Its practice, moreover, is not without its moral effect. Its power to liberate human choice from the local and parochial is of itself a matter of the first importance for moral theory. What I want to assert here is simply that the study of science is itself properly a humanistic study. In fact, nothing is so important in science instruction as the realization that its major pur-

to prepare for the study of chemistry in college than its study in high school, the general sense of shock is great. Yet, what prepares best for college study or any study is an empirical matter, and in principle at least, competent inquiry can answer the question. The same is true of education at any level. Indeed, in very recent years, persons willing to believe what evidence indicates in these matters are quite aware that the best preparation for reading in the early grades is not necessarily formal reading instruction in the home. Certainly nothing is more distressing to those of us who value the printed word than a home in which the television is on as long as a station beams a signal and in which the only conversation not related to everyday affairs is occasioned by the plight of a western hero.

It is now possible to argue successfully the case against excessive reliance on mechanical programs in early childhood education. But the opposite is true or seems to be true in high school and college education. A suggestion that success in physics in college is not best served by an elementary course in high school is treated as either foolish or subversive. Yet it is possible to find men, otherwise regarded as sane, who have held views consistent with the one I am supporting. Alfred North Whitehead writes:

In the past, the teaching of elementary mathematics has suffered, . . . because it was treated as a collection of mere uninteresting prolegomena to more advanced parts of the subject. But the mass of pupils never advanced to these further parts, and, in consequence, gained nothing but a set of purposeless dodges.

We must conceive elementary mathematics as a subject complete in itself, to be studied for its own sake. It must be purged of every element which can only be justified by reference to a more prolonged course of study. There can be nothing more destructive of true education than to spend long hours in the acquirement of ideas and methods which lead nowhere. It is fatal to all intellectual vitality. It produces, on the one hand, a sense of incompetence, of lack of grasp, and of inability really to penetrate to the meaning of things; and, on the other hand, by a natural revolt of the self-respecting intellect it produces a distaste for ideas, and a suspicion that they are all equally futile. I have had great experience with the average product of our schools as sent up to

the universities. My general conclusion is not that they have been taught carelessly. On the contrary, their education has evidently been supervised with a conscientious vigour. But there is a widely-spread sense of boredom with the very idea of learning. I attribute this to the fact that they have been taught too many things merely in the air, things which have no coherence with any train of thought such as would naturally occur to anyone, however intellectual, who has his being in this modern world. The whole apparatus of learning appears to them as nonsense.

I think this statement is excellent. I like Whitehead's suggestion that more earnestness on the part of the instructor is not enough. A sound conception of what instruction is all about is necessary. The devastating effect of boredom on the life of the intellect is seen. No subject matter, not even one as wonderful as mathematics, can make its significance felt in an unfavorable teaching-learning environment. You will see that Whitehead is emphasizing the importance of utilizing the *quality* of the present experience. I think this is the point. If one makes full use of the *quality* of the subject matter under consideration, if one fully exploits its liberal and liberating power, then the habits of mind which result are themselves the best preparation for future mental activity.

In an effort to be as clear as possible, let me say that nothing in this argument is intended to disparage the study of sciences in the high school. On the contrary, I think material from the special sciences and advanced mathematics ought to be introduced much earlier in the school than is now the case. My argument has to do with the *purpose* it serves and with the way it is introduced. The argument is innocent of any bias against the subject matter itself.

The tendency to reduce education to programs is evidently a consequence of a tendency in human nature that is useful enough; I mean the inclination to simplify, generalize and systematize. When these useful tendencies go beyond their legitimate limits, however, they tend to negate the very utility they properly express. It is all too easy to try to gain a spurious security and efficiency by treating programs as if they were education. But the irrational, the particular, and the elements of experience that defy generalization remain with us. They are not eliminated simply because we refuse to notice them. Willy-

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case, the cause of education will not be served by ideals which have their roots only in one age and one fashion or even in one tradition. Our resources are not that limited.

The great value in our educational experience which must be preserved is our method of approach to education. It is characteristic of the American temper generally that it distrusts the closed and fixed, that it is suspicious of explanations which seek to explain too much. Life is too complex, there is too much variety, to be exhaustively ordered under any one set of ideas. We have not then, in the past, completely succumbed to the views and values of any partisan group. We have tried ideas and have reflected on the consequences of the trial. New efforts have resulted from our reflection. This is as nearly as I can put it, the habit of all habits that we must not lose.

What Teachers Should Know About Today's Adolescents

ELIZABETH B. HURLOCK*

THE ADOLESCENT of today is a new "species," one that even those whose adolescence is barely behind them may find difficult to understand. And, this new species is typically American, a product of our post-World-War-II culture. His counterpart, however, may be found in countries around the globe because he has set a pattern that has been transmitted by American movies, books, music, and magazines, even our comics, to adolescents in other countries.

The older generation has been shaking its head and condemning parents for their laxity in bringing up their children; law-enforcement officers, from J. Edgar Hoover down, have blamed parental laxity for the serious rise in juvenile delinquency that has been plaguing our country in recent years; and educators have pointed the finger of disapproval at parents, accusing them of "spoiling" their children, thus making the job of the teacher harder than it need be in these days of overcrowded and understaffed schools. The older generation in our country is not alone in its concern: reports from other countries, even those behind the Iron Curtain, have stressed the alarm voiced by the older generation about the changes that have come over their young people. An article in *Time Magazine* of October 5th entitled "The New Breed," (pages 28-29) has described the changes that have come over the adolescents of Western Europe, the concern their elders feel about these changes, and the blame they are attributing to us when they refer to their adolescent children as "our young Americans." There is certainly no question about the fact that this is no way to raise American prestige in the eyes of the world.

While it is unquestionably true that parents are partly to blame for

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our new species of adolescent, they are not alone to blame. Our different forms of mass communication—radio, movies, television, comics, newspapers, and magazines—our changing values, especially in relation to moral behavior; our breakdown of family solidarity due to separation and divorce of parents, rejection of old family members as “old fogies,” and suburban living; the general American philosophy of “eat, drink, and be merry” and the future will take care of itself or Uncle Sam will take care of us, have all made their contributions to our new species of adolescent. I might add, too, that the Freudian doctrine of repression, or at least the popular misinterpretation of that doctrine, has certainly contributed to the American philosophy of self-expression and this has permeated the home and school to such an extent that far too many adolescents of today have grown up in an environment where restrictions on their activities, their impulses, and their emotions have been held down to a minimum for fear of turning them into neurotics if not psychotics.

The characteristics which are likely to be the most troublesome in the school and which are likely to plague every teacher in the junior or senior high schools are:

ANTI-WORK ATTITUDE

Our new species of adolescent does not like to work and he feels abused if he is expected to exert himself to do anything that is difficult or requires more than a minimum of effort. With much grumbling and accusing his parents, teachers, or athletic coach of being “slave drivers,” he may get the task assigned him done but only at his convenience and in the most slap-dash manner—just enough to “get by.” It is easier, he finds, to get the theme of some book assigned for his English class from “true comics” or a movie than to “wade through” the book itself, and far easier to copy someone else’s work or have a friend tell him the answers than to put the time and effort into doing it himself. The result is work far below his capacities, a limited output, and a constant grumbling and excuses for not getting the work done on time. Even athletic coaches find today’s adolescents are less willing to work for victory but just as eager to enjoy the prestige of victory as adolescents were in the past.

What causes this anti-work attitude? The answer is "Not one specific thing—it is part of the whole new American philosophy, an offshoot of our pushbutton culture." Even before a child can understand the meaning of work, he learns to think of certain things as unpleasant. If, for example, he wants to help Mother with the household chores he is told to go and play with his toys. Then, as he grows older certain tasks are assigned to him but these are treated more as penalties for growing up than privileges: he must do them and how he is told or pay a penalty. He soon discovers that Father does not like to work on his time off from his job and Mother has to prod him into doing things around the house which she considers "man's work." Mother always seems to be complaining about the lot of the housewife, wishing that she were on a 40-hour-a-week schedule as she was before she was married; she is always asking Father to buy her labor-saving devices; she tries to cut down on housework wherever she can by drip-dry clothes, mixes and TV dinners that can be popped into the oven and taken out in a few minutes with no effort needed in their preparation; and she feels abused when any family member tracks dirt into the house or brings friends for a meal. As he grows older and can read, he discovers that people in factories and offices who do not like their working hours or feel that they are not being paid enough for their work go on strike and refuse to return to their jobs until things are to their liking. Then, too, he constantly reads or hears warnings from doctors to slow down and not work so hard if you want to avoid stomach ulcers, high blood pressure, or strokes. By the time the child reaches adolescence, is it any wonder that his attitude toward work is unfavorable and that he has decided that he will not "kill himself" for anyone or anything.

ANTI-INTELLECTUALISM

Among today's adolescents, those who have intellectual interests, who enjoy studying and reading, and who show an intellectual curiosity that warms the heart of any teacher are considered by their classmates to be queer and soon get the reputation of being "brains." It is just not the thing to do to be a scholarly student, and this is especially true for girls who quickly discover that boys do not want to date a

"brain." At first, you may challenge this and point out that boys and girls in increasing numbers are eager to go to college, that there is literally a stampede to get into the "Ivy League" or "name" colleges, all of which have high academic standing and stiff entrance requirements, and that high-school students who are college-oriented do study hard. This, however, is not necessarily proof of their intellectualism: they want to go to college, and especially to a "name" college, because it is a stepping-stone to their futures, whether to a "status-job" for boys or to marriage to a boy, who, some day, will be a man in a "gray-flannel suit" for girls. That this is their motivation, not intellectual interest or curiosity, may be seen by the fact that they use every short-cut possible to fulfill their requirements, whether it be by using cram books or taking "gut courses." Furthermore, that going to college is a means to a practical end, whether it be a prestige job or marriage, may be seen by the fact that most students prefer courses that have some "practical" value and feel that any subjects they can see no use for are a "Waste of time," that the choice of majors is more often dictated by what they think they can use later than by interest, and that many girls, once they accomplish their mission—i.e., finding a husband—leave college without completing their work for a degree, even if it is in the middle of the senior year.

Back of this anti-intellectualism is the cultural stereotype of the intellectual as a "queer duck" and the bright person as peculiar, a physical or mental or even moral weakling. In spite of the fact that all studies of bright children and adolescents have revealed that their intellectual superiority is generally accompanied by physical, social and moral superiority, the cultural stereotype still influences the thinking of this generation as well as of their parents and grandparents. Many parents actually discourage their children from developing intellectual interests and encourage them to spend more time on social activities in the belief that high intellectual capacity and good social adjustment cannot exist side by side. The result is that by the time the child reaches adolescence he is so imbued with the belief that "showing his brains" is a sure way to make himself a social outcast that he often deliberately works far below his capacities in school and does all he can to "hide his brains." If he does not do

this, he soon discovers that his classmates blame him for making things "rough" for them in school because the teacher will then expect them to do more and better work or they accuse him of trying to court the favor of the teacher, neither of which leads to popularity.

PEER CONFORMITY

While adolescents everywhere and at all times are afraid to be different because being different makes them conspicuous and this means to them "inferior," today's adolescents seem to be driven by a compulsion to be as alike as peas in a pod. Their fear of being different has many of the characteristics of an obsession which makes them follow the leader as blindly as a pack of sheep. Any objection to their behavior is met with the stock phrase, "But everyone does it," and this gives it the stamp of approval in their eyes. As teachers, you cannot expect much in the way of original thinking or work from these conformity-obsessed adolescents but you can expect them to stick together through thick and thin, demanding equal treatment for all from you; you can expect them to be easy preys to faddism, whether this takes the form of extremes in dress, preoccupation with sex, dating and early marriages, a united front on going to college or going to work, on participating in sports or shunning them, and on being snobs or championing the cause of the underdog.

These conformists are a product of our status-seeking, "live-up-to-the-Joneses" culture which has been fostered in recent years by the trend toward Suburbia where you must "live up to the Joneses" to be accepted, by the belief that conformity is a sign of good social adjustment, and by the different forms of mass media which promise that "you too" can if you will only do this or that, buy this or that. From earliest childhood, home pressures to do what others do and examples of mother's and father's conforming in actions and thoughts to their friends and neighbors to insure their status in the social group, give the child a pattern of how to make successful adjustments to life that he has mastered so well by the time he reaches adolescence that he firmly believes that conformity is the key to success and that lack of conformity is the easiest and quickest way to become a social outcast.

INTEREST IN STATUS SYMBOLS

To the adolescent, clothes which equal or surpass those of his classmates in quality and quantity, a car of his own or one that he can use when he pleases, freedom to come and go as he wishes, money for dates and a good time, and a home background of social and economic status in the community, are essential to convince his classmates of his worth and thus insure his acceptance in the "right" clique. He discovers that one can literally "buy" popularity if one has the money to do so and status symbols are the outward manifestation of this money. While today's adolescents may be more democratic so far as racial and religious differences are concerned than were adolescents in past generations, their snobbishness is as strong as it was then, but it springs from a new cause, money and social status. Adolescents who lack these status symbols, no matter how good students they may be, develop a dislike for school because they are constantly reminded of their inferior status, because they resent being treated by their classmates as social outcasts, and because they often feel—without real justification—that their teachers favor the students whose status symbols proclaim their social and economic superiority. For far too many adolescents, this resentment is the motivating power behind their escape from an intolerable situation, by playing hookey as long as they are required by law to remain in school and then by leaving school as soon as they reach the legal age. Some show their resentments by thievery to get the status symbols they believe still lead to social acceptance while others take out their revenge on society in acts that lead them into the juvenile courts as delinquents. A few, in fact, a very few, are motivated to work hard in their studies in the hope of winning academic success that will give them prestige in the eyes of their classmates but they soon discover that prestige does not come from academic success unless it is backed up by status symbols. Certainly a school class that is divided between those who have and those who have not will not have a good morale nor will such an atmosphere make it possible for a teacher to do her best work.

Social-class consciousness and emphasis on status symbols are so much a part of our American culture today that every child is imbued

with the desire to "live up to the Joneses" from the time he takes his first steps before the Jones' children do. If you are not convinced that Americans have become a nation of "status-seekers," especially since World War II, I suggest that you read Vance Packard's best seller, *The Status Seekers*. By the time you finish it, you will understand where the adolescents of today get their pattern to imitate.

CONCERN ABOUT APPEARANCE

Since the beginning of history, concern about appearance has been one of the outstanding characteristics of adolescents. But to today's adolescents, this concern has taken on some of the characteristics of an obsession: it has led to undue preoccupation with clothes and beauty aids, it has motivated the adolescent to spend too much time, thought, and money on improving his appearance, and it has been at the root of far too many "inferiority complexes" in adolescents who see no way of bringing their looks up to the standards set by the movie stars or the ads in magazines. This preoccupation with appearance affects the adolescent's schoolwork, his adjustment to school, to his classmates and even to his teachers. No student can do what he is capable of if he gives more time and thought to improving his appearance than to his studies or if he is emotionally disturbed because he believes his appearance is the barrier to his social acceptance. Equally as serious, the appearance-conscious adolescent judges others by their appearance, with a favorable bias toward those whose appearance is good and unfavorable toward those who are judged by others as "frumps." Even teachers are judged more often by their looks than by their knowledge or their teaching ability. An experienced teacher who lacks the looks of a "glamour gal" or a "movie heroine" has to work twice or three times as hard to win the respect of her students than does the inexperienced teacher who may be better looking and wear more fashionable clothes.

In a culture that puts high premium on "looks," it is not surprising that the adolescent does so. Even before he was old enough to know the cultural standards, the adolescent had learned to think of appearance as important because he was constantly told to comb his hair, to stand up straight, or to put his clothes on neatly, and he

had to wear clothes his mother thought "stylish," regardless of whether he liked them or not. He sensed his parents' concern if he were shorter or taller, fatter or thinner than his playmates, if his teeth were crooked, or if his hair was unmanageable. Home stress on appearance was later supplemented by learning from the movies, the comics, and other forms of mass communication what is considered masculine and feminine, ugly and beautiful and by the concern of his friends as, one by one, their bodies began to change from children's to adult bodies. So long as his body was that of a child, he could always live in hopes that it would be to his liking when he grew up. But, by adolescence, he knew that his growing days were over and his hopes would never be realized. Adolescents who, as children, had ideals of what they would look like when they grew up generally have a rude awakening which intensifies the concern about appearance that every adolescent experiences.

ATTITUDE TOWARD OLDER PEOPLE.

In place of the respect—at least, *outward* respect—adolescents of past generations showed for their elders, today's adolescents regard anyone who shows that the first blush of youth has passed as "old," "old-fashioned," or a "back-number": the more indications there are of aging, the more sure the adolescent is that the person has outlived his usefulness, that he is too old to understand young people and their problems, that his knowledge is out-of-date, and that he is trying to apply yesterday's standards to today's problems. While many adolescents in the past probably felt much as today's adolescents do about the older generation, today's adolescents are far more vocal about their attitudes than adolescents of the past would have dared to be. At home and in the school, today's adolescents make it very clear that they have little respect for their elders and those who take the brunt of their debunking are generally Mother and the female teachers: somehow both boys and girls seem to be intimidated more by males than by females. While few teachers would want to turn back the hands of the clock and revert to the authoritarian methods of the past that produced "good" little boys and girls who never caused their parents and teachers any trouble

but who later often made up for this by being "hell-raisers," there can be a happy medium between what we had in the past and what we have today. Unless this is achieved, teachers who are no longer young will find themselves fighting an uphill battle against terrific odds, they will be discouraged when they see that their effort to impart knowledge becomes a case of "pearls before swine," and they often blame themselves for not getting the most out of their classes, when, in reality, the fault lies with the students who do not want to learn what an "old-fashioned" person is trying to teach them. Like many parents, but especially mothers, they will often wonder why they waste their time in such thankless work.

If today's unfavorable attitude toward older people were limited to adolescents, one could pass it off more lightly, and label it a sign of immaturity. Such, however, is not the case. Everywhere the child goes, he comes in contact with such unfavorable attitudes, whether it be Mother's obvious annoyance at having Father's parents come for a visit, Father's complaints about the "old dodos" who run the country, his friends' scathing comments about their "cranky" elderly relatives and neighbors, or articles in magazines and newspapers about the "plight of our oldsters." Lack of esteem and respect for age and experience are so much a part of our cultural philosophy today that it would be unrealistic to expect today's adolescents to have attitudes other than those that are unfavorable. Unless the older generation sets a better pattern for the young people, we should not blame them for imitating us in our bad as well as our good features.

CHALLENGE OF ADULT AUTHORITY

Every generation of parents and teachers, as far back as memory goes, has complained about how unmanageable youth is. However, today's adolescents seem to have reached a peak in their stand against adult domination and they hold the weapon of getting a job or getting married over parental heads when they feel that their independence is threatened. If not given the independence they feel is their birthright at school, they go on strike and refuse to return to their classes until their demands are met or they actively

defy authority in such large numbers that the school has no alternative but to give in to their demands if they want to avoid an open rebellion which would jeopardize their prestige in the eyes of the community as well as in the eyes of the students. No longer do students regard the teacher as the fountain of knowledge, an authority on the subject she teaches, or a fair judge of the student's capacity as revealed by his homework, his class recitations, or his examinations. Today's adolescents challenge what the teacher says in class, they maintain that the authors of their textbooks are "wrong" if they disagree with what the authors say, they literally ask the teachers to prove that the marks they give are fair, and they tell the school authorities how the school should be run, demanding a student representation in all policy-making. For the sake of appearances, they will tolerate the presence of teachers at the social functions of the school but they let it be known that they do not consider them as "chaperones" and they expect them to keep their eyes and ears shut.

Within limits, I am sure all will agree that achieving independence is worthy and that young people should learn to stand on their own feet so that when they reach legal maturity they will be able to take their place in society as mature, responsible citizens. However, demanding independence for which they are not prepared, challenging authority, and being disrespectful to those in authority are not commendable nor do they make the work of the teacher pleasurable or ego-satisfying. If a teacher goes to her classroom with the feeling that she must be prepared to defend every statement she makes or to prove that her judgment of a student's work is fairly represented in the grade she has given, her attitude toward teaching will be far from healthy and this will lead to unhealthy teacher-student relationship and lack of rapport in the classroom. Furthermore, if she lives in constant dread of having her class gang up against her or of winning the reputation of being "autocratic" or "unfair," it will lead to an insurmountable barrier between her and her students—a situation that makes learning almost impossible for the students and good teaching impossible for the teacher.

It may be a consolation, even though slight, for teachers to realize that they are not the only sources of authority that are challenged by today's adolescents. Any and every source of authority is chal-

lenged, from parents to law-enforcing officers. The reason for this is that many of today's adolescents have grown up in homes where "permissive child-training" has been practiced in extreme forms because their parents believe that if a little freedom to control his behaviour and make his decisions is good for a child, then more freedom is just that much better. To back up this philosophy of child-training, they have quoted the Freudian doctrine of repression and argued that repressing a child will lead to maladjustments while giving him freedom to express his impulses in actions will lead to good adjustments. As a result, these adolescents have never learned to adjust to rules and regulations as all civilizations demand of their citizens: instead, they have learned to think that they are laws unto themselves. Even those adolescents whose parents did not believe in these "new-fangled ideas" about child-training and who, as a result, learned to obey and respect those in authority or take the consequences find that they must follow the lead of their authority-defying classmates or take the penalty of being called "chicken" and of being accused of being tied to parental apron strings. Because many of them have chafed at the bit for years they were not given the freedom their friends took for granted as their birthright, their resentments come out in full force in adolescence when their adult size and their realization that they can be self-supporting if necessary give them the courage to stand up against authority as they have wanted to do for many years. Their defiance of authority is colored by the release of pent-up resentments which give it the quality of hostility against all who hold any authority. Such adolescents are even harder to deal with in the classroom than are those who have always done as they pleased and expect to continue to do so, regardless of how others feel.

IRRESPONSIBILITY

Adolescents of several generations ago, now the grandparents or parents of today's adolescents, cannot understand and, I might add, rightly so, the carelessness, the slipshoddiness, and the apparently complete lack of responsibility so characteristic of far too many adolescents of today. While they may be meticulous about their

appearance, they are careless about their schoolwork, their home duties are neglected or done so badly that someone generally has to do them over, they seem to have no sense of time and keep older people waiting for appointments without hatting an eyelash or attempting to give an excuse or apology, they do not bother to answer party invitations hut appear anyway, they show no concern or remorse if they hurn holes in the rugs or furniture with cigarettes they put down without bothering to see that they have been put out, they eat what strikes their fancy out of the refrigerator or cake box, completely unconcerned about whether it was meant for the family's next meal, they promise to serve on a committee and then fail to show up when the work is to be done, they expect members of the opposite sex to "go steady" with them and then drop them like the proverbial hot cakes when someone else strikes their fancy, completely unconcerned about the fact that the person they took out of circulation may have trouble in getting back into circulation again, and perhaps worst of all, they go off and get married because they "can't live without that person," hut without a thought about how they will finance their marriage, just assuming that their families will help them out as they always have in the past when they got themselves into jams. Lack of responsibility is so much a part of adolescent behavior today that I am sure I do not have to tell teachers anything about it: they know it only too well and this is one of the headaches they must face every day they are in school.

Teachers will merely hit their heads against stone walls if they try to develop a sense of responsibility in their students unless they have the cooperation of the parents. And, the earlier in the child's school career this can be done, the easier will be the job for the teachers in junior and senior high school. As I have said several times before, far too many parents regard childhood as a time to be happy and carefree: they believe that this guarantees good social adjustments and a healthy personality. Expecting a child to assume responsibilities, they argue, militates against what they are trying to do because responsibilities mean work and work, as I pointed out earlier, is something one avoids as much as possible. They fail to see the ego-inflating value of responsibilities or to realize the personal satisfaction the child derives from achievements. In addition, they are likely to

complain that teachers who give children responsibilities in school are giving them "the dirty work they are paid to do" and they maintain that this is not what the child goes to school for. The child who is encouraged to expect everyone to hand him things on a silver platter is not likely to develop into a responsible adolescent or a responsible adult. Should he show a sense of responsibility, his classmates are likely to accuse him of trying to "polish the apple" for teacher so he slips into the irresponsible patterns of his friends. And, because Mother has always been willing to cover up for him if he gets into trouble, to drop what she is doing and dash him in the car to school or party if he is late because he did not start to get ready in time, to write an excuse to the teacher if his schoolwork was not done on time, or to advance money to him if he runs out of cash before his next allowance is due and then let him pay it back or not when and how it suits his convenience, what motivation has he to assume responsibilities or to believe that it is important to do so? Father may complain that no one can get ahead in this life if he is not a responsible person but complaining does not teach the child *how* to be responsible nor does it give him the motivation to try to learn. Parents generally recognize, as their children approach adolescence, how serious a handicap their irresponsibility will be to them throughout life, but, all they do about it, as their sons and daughters put it, is to "Yakity-yak" about it.

From what I have said, you may conclude that I have a very poor opinion of today's adolescents. This is not true. I am aware, as I am sure all of you are, that today's adolescents have many sterling qualities, qualities which members of the older generations often lacked when they were adolescents. However, that they are not making the most of their capacities and opportunities, that they are not developing into the type of citizen who will contribute to the progress of our country, that they are contributing more than their share to the increase in juvenile delinquency, crime, broken homes, divorce, and problem parents who produce problem children, all suggest that we are allowing our youth to become second-rate just at the time when Russia is challenging us for world power and supremacy.

If today's adolescents were happy—at least as happy as adolescents

can be—it would not be so tragic a waste of potentially good future citizens: but they are not. Many recognize that they are falling below their capacities and they blame the older generation for this. Many have already discovered the handicaps they suffer from because of the laxity of their upbringing and resent the fact that their parents and teachers, whose experience should have warned them against letting this happen, did nothing to ward off these handicaps. And many are questioning the values of their parents, recognizing in these values weaknesses that are not found in the values of nations that have been strong in the past, as they learn from history, or of the nations that are coming into world power today.

I believe that you will agree with me that the time has come to assess, as parents and teachers, our methods of educating our children in the home and in the school, to see if we are being fair to them, to ourselves, and to our country. Certainly today's adolescents are proof that we are not making the most of what we have to work with and, by falling down on our job with the members of this generation, we are preparing the young people of today to be the parents and teachers in whose hands will rest the fate of the next generation. Let us hope that they will recognize in time the shortcomings of their youth and make it their responsibility to see to it that this will not happen to the members of the next generation.

College and Secondary English in Transition

The Secondary School Phase

MILDRED E. OSLER*

SPUTNIK has not been the sole impetus for a change in American educational standards and the reevaluation of our schools, but it fortunately has hastened the issue. Among other effects it has created a panic about our educational deficiencies, put the focus chiefly on mathematics and science, and taken the spotlight off English. Yet even before Sputnik, the thinking individuals of our republic had begun to deplore the shortcomings of American schools, particularly the secondary schools. They urge that democracy should not mean a general leveling of the mind and heart of man and that greater educational opportunities should be given to those having greater intellectual capacity.

In the high school, English more than any other subject has been weathering through changing times. Mathematics and science have been neglected because pupils have avoided the courses; English, on the other hand, a required subject, automatically recruits all the pupils and with them the whole range of educational problems. Mathematics and science have drawn only academic students whereas English concerns itself with the entire school population and all the courses. English continues to suffer under the hundred percent promotion policy that forces the high school to deal with pupils totally unprepared or unable to learn on the secondary school level—many pupils with I.Q.'s in the 90's and 80's, even 70's. So much teacher time, effort, and morale have been spent on *retarded readers*, non readers, slow learners, reluctant learners, and the like. To survive in purpose, the English department in the comprehensive high school has resorted to ability grouping to sub-zero levels, even though such

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groupings create complexities of program and multiplicity of administrative problems. The greatest price, however, is that many of the most capable English teachers, the most scholarly, have been assigned the slowest or most retarded groups because if any success, any progress is possible, these teachers can find the way. Often these teachers' promotion to supervisory positions has been determined by their efforts with the weak or slow or problem pupils. Too much has been sacrificed for the weakest element at the expense of the gifted and normally able pupils.

Not only do English teachers draw all the pupils in the school, but they are besieged with demands both from within and without the school. Principals having recourse to the entire school through English classes find the English teachers excellent mediums to effect improvement in school responses, like pupils' learning the words of our national anthem better to sing it in assembly or like pupils having oral and written compositions on behavior in the lunch room in order to convert mob behavior there into gentle deportment. Or a science teacher, a rare one who marks the English in science experiments, collects fifty misspelled words, critically heads them "Spelling for the Atomic Age," and passes the list to the English department expecting action. The diatribes on Johnny can't read, can't spell, can't write, can't think—all have been directed to the need for better and more English instruction and chiefly on the secondary school level. Moreover, the expansion of mass media and verbal communication has broadened the scope of responsibilities and work of the teachers of English. Indeed unless the teacher learns the art of selectivity and proportion of subject matter, he will perish in the tidal wave of demands thrust upon him.

English faces yet another problem not suffered by mathematics or science. English teachers' energies have been dissipated by the controversies and varied points of view about what shall be taught. In literature, for example, there is no longer a nice, neat chronological plan of reading undisputed chosen classics. Teachers have to defend such old standbys as Bible selections, "Huckleberry Finn," "Ivanhoe," because the reading of them offends sensitivities; or romantic poetry because it is too removed from the tastes of modern youth; or the contemporary like "Abl Wilderness," because parents don't want

the harsh realities of life to come to their offspring by way of books. In ardor of the contemporary, one principal openly discouraged in his school the reading of any book written before 1900, whereas scholars speak eloquently in defense of the study of the classics. Then there is the acceptance or rejection of the use of adaptations of the classics. A few weeks ago one sophomore, trying to find words to identify an adapted version of "A Tale of Two Cities," referred to it as the one "written in broken-down English," unknowingly hitting upon pointed criticisms of modified versions.

Controversies have raged not only over what shall be read in the secondary school but over practically every other aspect of instruction in English. Teachers and department heads have questioned the worth or need of the study of grammar, arguing that there is no carry over from the formal study of grammar to correct speech or writing. Now the linguists argue that the whole approach to grammar is wrong, the definitions are unrealistic and inaccurate, that there must be a revision of methods. In composition there is always the question whether the oral should outweigh the written in time and emphasis. In the written endless theories prevail: Is the idea more important than correctness; should originality and self expression supersede form and logical development; should composition writing be therapeutic serving as an outlet and expression of pupils' inner emotions; should all the errors be marked or just a few pointed ones. Through all these arguments and points of view an English teacher has often wished for the exactness and acceptance of the general content of mathematics and science or for a textbook that gives sequence and continuity to the program without the teacher's having to weigh how much time to give and in what order to present lessons in spelling, grammar, vocabulary, oral and written composition, literature, ad infinitum. An urgent need in English curriculum is the simplification of an accepted program based on essentials.

Now that there is a nationwide awareness of the shortcomings of education, in English as well as in science and mathematics, some specific analyses of the problems are being offered by fundamentalists like Lynd, Bestor, Conant, Griswold, Hutchins. Critical studies are being offered by an intellectual like Barzun and by scientific military

men like Rickover. National and local organizations are working toward specific objectives. For instance, the National Council of Teachers of English in collaboration with three other national organizations has just issued a bulletin entitled "The Basic Issues in English" giving a summary of a series of conferences held throughout 1958, their basic tenet being the quality of the work in English. The Pennsylvania English Association, even in its brief two years' existence, has stressed curriculum and the status of English in the schools of this Commonwealth. The Pennsylvania State Department of Public Instruction has mandated four years of English for high school graduation by June, 1960, no longer the three and a half years. A new promotion policy put in practice in some high schools last June on the tenth grade level and to be extended progressively through to the twelfth grade requires a pupil to pass four major subjects, not just two, in order to advance in grade (English is likely always to be one of them). This standard had its immediate repercussion in the failure of more than half of a large 10A class in one city high school, but its long range effect will be greater emphasis on achievement and content, wholesome reward for work and penalty for failure, the kind of challenge American youth needs. At the same time, teachers, too, should accept responsibilities for meeting the standard and the essential learning entrusted to them.

Other important suggestions are offered in Dr. Conant's book "American High Schools Today." After a personal study of fifty-five representative high schools in eighteen states he recommends four years of English for high school graduation, half of the total time devoted to English composition, students writing one theme a week, the teacher correcting the themes. He advocates maintaining high standards, a school wide composition test in every grade, and a special composition course in the twelfth grade for those students not measuring up to their ability. An important part of his recommendation is that an English teacher have no more than one hundred pupils.

These are concrete suggestions worth consideration. Dr. Conant emphasizes the importance of written composition in our highly verbal culture, written composition being more definite, more exacting than the oral. Experience in writing is one sure way of improving

English. But can this recommendation even be effected in the public high school? The English teacher there carries a teaching load of a hundred and sixty and more pupils (and the number is never likely to be reduced to a hundred). He teaches five classes with usually three different preparations, has an advisory class, and several extra duties. There are physical limitations to a teacher's energies and time. Besides, in most schools, since pupils practice organizing thoughts and writing in paragraphs only in English class (teachers of other subjects give objective tests and their pupils often copy directly from texts to give reports), the whole burden of practice, the necessary writing, correcting, rewriting—the whole experience the pupil gets in composition—is limited to the English class. The only practical way to meet the composition requirements is to give shorter compositions more frequently, to concentrate on exposition rather than narrative, to give problems in thinking logically, to demand organization, clarity, and simple, effective language.

During the past decade reading more than writing has been emphasized. It would take a long time to review all the efforts made to teach reading even on the secondary school level. Witness the list of college courses in reading offered to prospective English teachers, training courses like *Teaching of Reading*, *Diagnostic and Remedial Reading Techniques*, *Psychology of the Secondary School Reading Program*, *Selection and Use of Reading Materials*. Indeed reading—the skill of reading—has become a panacea for many educational ills including juvenile delinquency. Philadelphia secondary schools have specially trained teachers for small classes in reading improvement, particularly for the pupils considered good risks—pupils with normal mentality who can't seem to read or never learned to read. Some secondary schools organize the English department so that a developmental reading program is provided for all pupils on the 10th grade level. Reading comes to be a special course outside the English class. Yet reading is not an isolated subject. All good English teachers have always been good reading teachers, whether they are aware of the scientific approach to reading or not.

I certainly concede that the study of reading techniques is vitally important. Reading, however, to get insight of thought, power to draw inference, to make comparisons, to appreciate, cannot be

effected only through exercises and increase in speed. These powers come with understanding thought-provoking literature. It is almost impossible to manufacture a good reader. It seems a natural process that should unfold as a child reads increasingly more advanced books. Skill exercises alone will not produce this kind of reader. Adaptations won't produce this kind of reader nor will pleasant, entertaining narratives. A surer way to educate is through the reading of significant literature. Even an average pupil will profit by such reading with a teacher's help. It has been my experience to see pupils stimulated and enriched by rising to the classics. And, I am encouraged to see teachers shying away from the trivial for class study and to hear them speak with satisfaction about the outcome of reading something difficult and worth while. It is never a mistake to hope for too much. In this age of insecurity more than ever before, the young need to learn what the best minds have to say about man and his place in the Universe. Modern youth needs to engage in depth reading with his English teacher and to get the range reading on his own—the classics above all; the contemporary certainly; foreign yes, so that youth can become aware of other cultures and the universality of man and his problems. However, when limitations of time demand restriction of choice, then it is best to settle for the classics, depth reading rather than breadth. It must always remain that an English teacher's chief service to society is the ability to open doors to the mind and heart of youth through man's highest expression of thought.

One of the current and satisfactory improvements in education in the secondary school—one that certainly affects the status of English—is the increased emphasis placed on the gifted pupil—the normal and better. Democracy now urgently approves of recognizing the more capable minds. Honor students are being feted in assembly programs as much as football heroes. The distinguished and meritorious are once more listed on commencement programs (you know for years only one alphabetical list of the graduates was allowed). These students have increased opportunity for earning scholarships. Some selected schools offer them accelerated programs. The Merit Scholarship Examination and other such incentives have given a tremendous spur to learning.

Intellectual achievement is not and never can be for everybody.

The important and honest and fair way in education is to select early—long before high school—those capable of academic training and give them all the education they can possibly absorb. The other less capable or manually bent or retarded need not be denied learning; give them all they can take but never at sacrifice or compromise of standards and quality of learning for the large number of mentally able pupils. The need of our nation is to offer young people the best education and to encourage them to make their lives an adventure of the mind.

Perhaps the greatest need of our educational system is a sense of purpose—the intellectual honesty to measure what we do against clearly defined criteria.

The College Phase

RICHARD BOZORTH*

IN 1831 John Stuart Mill as a young man wrote an essay on "The Spirit of the Age" and identified it as "an age of transition." "In all other conditions of mankind," he wrote, "the uninstructed have faith in the instructed. In an age of transition, the divisions among the instructed nullify their authority, and the uninstructed lose their faith in them." That is precisely our situation in the world today. Under the circumstances I undertake today merely to give some description of the state of English study in the colleges and particularly at Pennsylvania, not to suggest an authoritative set of answers to the problems of college English.

In as highly verbal a culture as ours English makes up the most continuously studied subject until the student reaches the second or third year of college. And since he must continue to write examinations and reports, estimates, letters and articles even after his formal education has been completed; since he must read and speak with precision and competence in the best-paid and most respected occupations, English continues to pervade the activities of the literate American throughout life. One studies English, then, first, because of its practical value. To master the subject is not only a chief means of succeeding in one's vocation, but it is also an instrument for managing subjects other than English. Every teacher of a literature course has been asked dozens of times by the student who is about to write a report or an examination, "Sir, is Composition going to count in my final grade?" And, he has usually to be told that if he expresses himself ambiguously, if he fails to communicate his meaning, he will lose credit: we cannot reward him for something we are not sure he has said. So the answer is—Yes, composition is always counted! On the other hand, though its func-

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tion is quite as vital, literature is less a tool subject than composition. No man has ever been so ranging and varied in his activities as to undergo for himself all physical, emotional and intellectual experiences. Literature serves the double functions of filling in the blank areas of a man's experience of living and at the same time making possible his sympathetic understanding of other men who are akin to himself but never identical. Without an enlightened and sympathetic imagination Man is separated from the animals by differences that are quantitative only. So the study of composition and literature are equally important, and they are often pursued together. For our purposes today, however, I propose to treat them separately for the sake of convenience. In the remarks that follow I propose to examine the teacher, the student and the courses as I know them, examining with equal candor the virtues and defects of each. I do not imply that we as teachers can easily improve ourselves, our students, or our courses; I want to report the facts as one teacher has seen them.

The teaching of composition necessarily varies from one institution to another. In a college or even a university where admissions requirements can be kept very high, where a battery of interviews and placement examinations can be administered to prospective freshmen, and where the candidates for admission amount to, say, five or ten times the number of openings in the first-year class, composition is a minor consideration in the curriculum. The few students in need of real help in composition who matriculate at such an institution can be cared for with a section or two of frankly remedial work. Such students undoubtedly are good college material or they would not have been admitted in the face of strong competition. Thus they will be patched up in small classes that offer something akin to tutoring. Indeed, if the college is one that maintains small classes, the relatively weak students may have their needs supplied by a few individual conferences scheduled as adjuncts to a basic course in literature.

Not many institutions, however, find freshmen so well trained that composition as a required course can be waived. Most offer a first-year course in which writing plays an important role and in which a considerable effort is made to teach all students effective composition. At the large state universities, and indeed at most

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and minor. And these matters are further discussed during the bi-weekly conferences. Only by such means can we improve the student's writing. Reading a composition handbook won't do the job; neither will a few themes written each year. I confess that I do not see how a high school teacher can discharge home-room duties, supervise study halls, run a dramatic club or a student publication, teach four or five hours each day, and still manage to read regularly and comment upon student writing. On the other hand, many students have told me that seldom oftener than once a year did they write a paper and have it returned with full corrections and comments. Under the circumstances it is remarkable that they manage to do as well as they usually do when they reach college. It is hard to know whether the situation is more unfair to the high school student or to his teacher. Surely the parents, the school boards, the theorists on education, or the local school administration—whoever is most responsible for the present programs—should be persuaded that core curricula, lessons in deportment, civics, and many of the other peripheral subjects that crowd into the secondary school classroom are crippling the effort we must make to teach the student how to communicate his ideas in a civilized and effective fashion. Though little else moves these people, they ought to know that colleges are seldom disposed to look beyond bad grades in the Scholastic Aptitude Tests and in the English Achievement Examination. Only weekly practice, detailed correction and continuous emphasis of composition skill over a period of years will make a student an effective writer.

It is harder to generalize about students, teachers, and courses of literature in college. For one thing, both the subject matter and the ways of handling it are remarkably varied. It is my impression that the freshman's best training before he came to college was in the drama, his weakest in poetry. This is scarcely surprising, for the particular presence of Shakespeare in our language has led to an early and thorough study of plays, whereas poetry, and lyric poetry especially, usually reaches young people as a peculiar draught to be swallowed quickly and without too much questioning. Narrative fiction languishes somewhere in between: palatable enough when it assumes the form of a lively yarn, but infrequently studied as form and ideas as well.

state institutions of whatever size, defective composition is so general a characteristic of the freshman class, that an entire year's course is devoted to the subject. Here the student writes an average of a theme every week and devotes at least a part of his study and classroom time to reviewing the old matters of punctuation, sentence structure and the like, areas he may be supposed to have been taught in elementary and secondary school, but areas, alas, in which he very often flaunts almost untarnished ignorance. The colleges between the extremes I have just described—the omission of composition training for the average student on the one hand and the devotion of an entire year to formal and basic training in composition on the other—follow a variety of curricular gambits. Most attempt some combination of practice in writing together with an introduction to literature, a study of important ideas and issues, or perhaps a part of their attention to basic matters of mechanical and stylistic correctness already "covered" before the student reached college; they represent a wasteful and frustrating duplication of effort. If we are to give our college students a competence in self-expression commensurate with the intellectual aims of many of the courses they take, we must be able to concentrate on training in logic, in giving the student some awareness of the problems and values involved in the use of concrete and abstract language, figures of speech, rhythm, tone, point of view, the principles of research and the evaluation of evidence. Yet the difficulty is to find time for these adult and significant subjects when the student is still uncertain about the use of the comma, when he writes occasional fragments in the belief that they are sentences, leaves a trail of uncertain references, dangles and faulty idioms through his papers. Judging from the difficulty we find in getting other university departments to refer to us the weak student writers that they encounter, I suspect that the problem is the same in the secondary school. High school students are taught sound punctuation and sentence structure; but they are not required constantly thereafter to demonstrate their mastery of these subjects in all the writing that they do. It's the old story of the ineffectiveness of cramming; a skill must be used or it will be lost.

At Pennsylvania we have tried to follow a middle way with composition. A steadily expanding body of applications for admission

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has enabled us to increase our admissions requirements appreciably over the past five or six years. Thus we no longer have to wince at the knowledge that each freshman class will include a small quota of semi-literate students who have somehow contrived to slide past the barrier of the College Boards and our other screening devices. We have done away with the classes in remedial English we used to set up each year. For today nearly all students are qualified to do at least passing work; and in the face of the pressure for admission of able students, we are inclined to believe that thoroughly inadequate ones should be dropped from college as soon as their inadequacy is fully established. Under present circumstances colleges can hardly be asked to discharge the function of advanced coaching academies. I think it is significant that we dropped remedial composition classes only after investigation had revealed that fewer than one student out of five who needed special help with his writing stayed in college long enough to reach his third year, a fact which surely demonstrated the relation between a decent control of English composition and the ability to do college work.

Another step we have taken at this university is to drop all requirements of descriptive or narrative writing for our students in Freshman Composition. The few who are interested in creative or experimental writing can take a variety of courses in this department after they have completed the required work; meanwhile, they read and write exposition only in the first year. Our decision to emphasize expository writing exclusively was based on the fact that the critical papers, reports and examinations in college are invariably of this kind, the greatest proportion of all writing after college is exposition, and finally, one of the most pervasive student weaknesses is an inability to do straight thinking, a defect which expository exercise alone will go very far to remedy.

Finally, we have planned a freshman composition program which we like to think makes the best of the teacher's time and the student's. During the first term the class writes weekly themes based on readings that are discussed in class. These readings usually include half a dozen essays with an occasional poem or story and average about fifty pages a week. Each group of readings concentrates on a particular idea or problem, and at the same time the selections, which are of

On the whole literature is likely to be better taught than composition in college. This is in part because the writing courses are staffed with younger, less experienced instructors, teachers who have all too infrequently themselves had any more formal training than their own freshman writing course years before. The teacher of literature, on the other hand, has probably had from seven to fifteen times as much training in literature during undergraduate days, and the gap is further widened during graduate study. Moreover, it is undeniable that even the close professional study of literary works is likely to be more stimulating and appealing than the perusal of grammatical and rhetorical principles for the average teacher during training and afterward. In the face of this innate advantage enjoyed in the teaching of literature, it is curious that for so many decades the courses of this kind were nearly always taught as literary history. That is, the works were presented with a general burden of dates, biographical details, summaries of possible debts and influences on the part of the author, and finally with a liberal sprinkling of plot summaries. While the literary historian and scholar has done all of us incalculable service as teachers and students, his should not be the exclusive approach to the field. Fortunately recent decades have seen an increasing effort by teachers to present the ideas central to a work, the aesthetics that underlie its form, and the human values that are a part of it.

This shift in emphasis may be partly the result of necessity. For today's college teacher can no longer count on his freshmen to have read a third of Shakespeare's plays, a generous selection of novels by Dickens, Thackeray, George Eliot, Hawthorne, Hardy, and others, and a distribution of poetry from Chaucer to Housman. One suspects that practical people decided there was a good deal of dead wood among the Victorian three-decker novels, that far too little of the traditional assignment in poetry was meaningful and appealing to the secondary school student. Now the decision to remove many of the works our parents had to read before they went to college may have been a very sensible one—though one hopes that works of at least equal stature took their place—but the result is that the college teacher today can seldom count on his class's having read any particular author or work. I have found sophomore classes

in which half the students had taken the trouble to use a dictionary in order to learn that "The Magi" referred to in Yeats' poem of that title were certain Zoroastrian priests; but only a tenth of the class had any association between the Magi and the Bible!

Many of us who teach literature in college would be glad to see a return of some of the old works to high school reading lists. In the meantime, however, we are often unable to assume much of anything when we face an elementary class in literature. One result of this situation has been a turning away from the traditional survey courses in favor of the introduction to literature as a series of genres. In effect, the instructor tries to teach his class how to read a poem, a short story, a novel, or a play. He introduces them to symbols, to the simpler technical problems involved in managing a narrative effectively. Sometimes, in fact, he simply teaches them how to read instead of skimming. It seems a little ironical that in the midst of our current concern over poor student readers we are producing young people who can sprint through a passage of exposition and wrest from it the significant facts presented, but who at the same time show surprise at the notion that eight lines from a poem or even a paragraph of narrative may be so packed that a different sort of reading is needed for them. The trouble is emphatically not that they have been asked to précis essays or express in their own words the central idea of a sonnet during their pre-college years. Rather, one suspects, the overworked high school teacher facing a class of forty students with intelligence quotients ranging from the high 70's to 150 has simply been unable to teach precision and thoroughness in some kinds of reading. So college teaching of literature these days begins with teaching students to read, to notice how a thing is said, to be suspicious of words and meanings, and to use their imaginations in order to grasp those aspects of meaning that go beyond simple denotation.

Without any mass dedication to the more dramatic forms of General Education, colleges today are increasingly emphasizing the relations and the overlapping between different fields of knowledge. Thus there is greater emphasis upon the history of ideas, and the student is persuaded to see that Shakespeare and John Donne sometimes employ figurative language to the same end because they were

both aware of certain issues of their time, were touched with skepticism and conviction about some of the same ideas. The student who has read them in this light and learned of the 17th-century revolutions in scientific concepts can understand much of the literature since 1915 at once. Aesthetic evaluation and appreciation makes its appearance more often these days in the college classroom. This is because we like to think that the moderately skilled and conscious reader of literature will be able to read for his own entertainment and enlightenment after college; and since he can't read the same things over and over, we must try to equip him to distinguish between the mediocre and the first-class book for himself. If we do not, then we have only ourselves to blame for the popularity of trashy novels, shallow drama, and sentimental verse. We think, too, that the genuine initiate in close and conscious reading will go on reading instead of falling asleep over the television set.

We must go on asking the question—Education for what? Since the conditions of our society are changing more rapidly than ever before, the teaching of English, that most basic of the educational disciplines, is likely to be in a state of transition for a long time to come.

Foreign Languages in the High School

MARJORIE C. JOHNSTON*

TWO YEARS AGO last May the Office of Education of the U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare held a national conference to consider how the instructional program for modern foreign languages in the high school might be redesigned to serve better the national need. At that time it was necessary to admit, although noteworthy exceptions could be cited, that in general, nation-wide modern foreign language teaching could scarcely be more ineffective. Fewer than half the high schools offered any modern foreign language. If a modern language was offered, rarely was it possible for a student to continue the same language for more than two years. Less than 15 percent of the high school students of the nation were enrolled in any modern foreign language, and among those who started a language there was tremendous mortality by the second year. Even students who continued for several years testified that they had not developed sufficient skill to use the language for any practical purpose.

This situation existed in spite of the fact that the Defense Department, the Department of State, the Central Intelligence Agency, the National Security Agency, the U.S. Information Agency, and the International Cooperation Administration were caught in a kind of treadmill of trying to recruit and train people who were already proficient in the use of at least one modern foreign language. Not only was the need in Government somewhat staggering, but also in business, industry, education, and many other fields affected by our involvements in international affairs. The crucial role that languages play in scientific communication was also making the headlines.

At the present time, however, we can see not just some bright spots in a dismal setting but some large illuminating signs which

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may transform the whole character of the picture. Public awareness of the growing need for language proficiency in the national interest is drawing more and more attention to the strength needed in language teaching at all levels of the school system. At the high school level, six converging forces for improvement were noted by the National Association of Secondary School Principals at its annual meeting this year.

1. Title III of the National Defense Education Act of 1958, providing expanded supervisory services from State departments of education and Federal assistance to elementary and secondary schools in the acquisition of audio-visual equipment and materials to strengthen instruction in science, mathematics, and modern foreign languages;

2. The Staff Utilization Study of the NASSP, which demonstrates the effectiveness of tape recorders and other electronic aids in instruction;

3. College Entrance Examination Board tests of listening comprehension in modern foreign languages;

4. Policy statements of the Modern Language Association of America advocating the functional teaching of languages;

5. Realization by teachers, students, parents, and employers that traditional language teaching, together with too small a time allotment, fails to produce competence in speaking a language; and

6. Recommendations by Dr. James B. Conant that modern language should be required of the group of students from which our national leaders will come, that completion of a four-year sequence of one foreign language is necessary for anything approaching mastery.

There are already many concrete examples of progress. Never before has there been so much study, discussion, planning, and cooperation within, between, and among the associations of language teachers, the groups of school administrators, the staffs of the Federal and State education agencies, the schools and departments of the colleges and universities, and the lay and professional organizations concerned with improving instruction. Such efforts can hardly fail to realize the necessary goal.

The goal in this case is one that we have never seriously strived

to reach before in American education; that is, achievement approaching mastery in the use of at least one modern foreign language by a substantial segment of our population. Such achievement requires a high degree of skill in communicating and a deepened insight into the life and thought of the people whose language is studied.

Many language programs are therefore undergoing basic modifications in order to establish learning conditions that can develop communication skills and understanding of a foreign culture. Long sequences of study with continuity and well-planned gradual progression in difficulty are absolute essentials. The National Association of Secondary School Principals has recommended for the high school a four- to six-year program of study in whatever modern language the student elects. Specially motivated and able students may begin a second foreign language while continuing the first.

Along with adequate time allotments there must be instructional material which provides effective practice in listening comprehension and speaking as well as in reading and writing. With the assistance of Federal funds many schools are now acquiring language laboratories to facilitate practice in hearing and speaking the foreign language. The present textbooks for the study of a modern language resemble the traditional Latin grammar, each lesson of which contains parallel lists of foreign language and English vocabulary, rules of grammar with illustrative sentences, a brief reading selection, several sets of sentences to translate to and from English, and an assortment of exercises for testing the pupils' ability to apply the rules. These books frequently confirm the naive notion that learning a foreign language means simply a recoding of English.

The newer teaching materials are being designed to provide guided practice first in hearing and speaking and later in reading and writing without translation. Materials for beginners may not be in book form at all, since there are advantages in not presenting the printed matter until the students are ready for it. At any rate, the text materials of the future will be fundamentally different in organization from the traditional ones, for they will be based on the principles of hearing authentic speech, of imitating, memorizing, and practicing useful patterns of speech and of reading and writing initially only what

can be understood and spoken. The content centers upon real, or at least plausible, communication situations, and the method emphasizes dialog practice, mimicry, memorizing, and pattern practice.

The production of textbooks of the new type is being influenced by the experience of teachers in successful foreign language programs in the elementary school, by methods used in language laboratories and in intensive programs such as the Foreign Service Institute and Army Language School, and through provisions of Title VI of the National Defense Education Act. As an interim measure, several publishers are providing tapes and disks to accompany textbooks now in use.

The hearing-speaking-reading-writing progression in language learning brings problems to the teacher whose materials offer a grammar-translation-reading presentation. Specific help is needed on day by day classroom procedure, on homework assignments, on testing, on timing the transition to work with printed materials. That is, how can the teacher plan systematically to insure that all the pupils will progress at their best rate of learning? To help teachers and supervisors deal with these problems, the Office of Education, as a service under Title III of the NDEA, has issued a bulletin entitled "Modern Foreign Languages in High School: Pre-reading Instruction." And during the past summer 925 teachers of modern foreign languages were given special training in Language Institutes organized under Title VI, the Language Development Program, of the National Defense Education Act of 1958. Four regular-session institutes are in progress now. About two thousand additional teachers will have similar opportunities in the 1960 summer institutes.

The matter of evaluation presents another problem along with materials and methods. If students are tested only on vocabulary, grammar, and reading, they may be slow to view language study as the progressive ability to communicate both through speech and writing. The listening comprehension tests of the College Entrance Examination Board are a good start, and some experimental work with speaking tests is being carried on by working committees of the Northeast Conference on Foreign Language Teaching. The development of tests for understanding and speaking and for reading

and writing without translation needs to be accelerated. Aptitude tests can be useful for grouping, but it would be unfortunate if such tests as are now available were to be used for screening out any student who is motivated to learn a modern foreign language.

A quick overview of foreign language instruction in this country brings the realization that rapid and far-reaching changes are taking place as a result of our national need for communication with other peoples of the world. This is not to say that the study of classical languages is any less valuable than it has always been. Nor have I meant to imply that the best time to start learning a modern language is in the high school. The earlier the start the better. Some schools are building continuous programs from the elementary grades through high school. It should be a self-evident fact that high schools will provide for the continued progress of any pupils who enter from the elementary school with considerable proficiency already in speaking and understanding a modern foreign language.

In the future we must aim toward vastly different results. Instead of attracting 15 percent of the students and losing most of them by the wayside, we must aim to attract perhaps 75 percent and hold a substantial portion of them through a 10-year or 6-year or 4-year progressive sequence of learning. Specialists will be needed, yes, but in addition, as a secondary qualification, language proficiency will be needed and expected by large numbers in almost any profession we could name. If we hold these aims in mind there will be much to consider by way of better counseling, better adaptation of instructional methods and materials to the student, better articulation of elementary-secondary-college language programs, expanded offerings, and increased experimentation and research in language learning.

As progress is made in strengthening instruction in the languages already in the curriculum, it may be that more attention can be given to languages which have been neglected in our schools and colleges. A survey of language needs in Government, business, industry, and education made this year by the American Council of Learned Societies was the basis for determining the most needed languages, and the following were given priority: Arabic, Chinese, French, German, Hindustani, Italian, Japanese, Portuguese, Russian, and Spanish (in alphabetical order). The report stated, however, that

"although linguistic needs are to some extent unpredictable, and even recognized ones are relative, there is clearly a present, continuing need for individuals trained in the national or "official" languages of all the sovereign nations with which the United States has business or diplomatic relations, and also in some of the unofficial languages spoken by many millions of inhabitants of a foreign country or territory."

Experimental Mathematics in Junior High School

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THE UNIVERSITY OF MARYLAND MATHEMATICS PROJECT has as its purpose the writing of experimental materials in mathematics suitable for the junior high school level. I want to stress the word "experimental" because the fact that we are an experimental project gives us enormous freedom to exercise imagination and insight in deciding on the materials to be tried. We are not hemmed in by need to publish a text which can be picked up by any seventh grade mathematics teacher and used with the same comfortable familiarity that she enjoys with a text dealing with traditional subject matter. If we write something that we think is good, and after trying it out in the environment I shall describe to you shortly, we decide that it needs considerable revision or is not at all suitable for the seventh grade, no onus of failure falls upon the project. It is in the very essence of experimentation, that we do not anticipate 100% success in every experiment in which we engage. Failure does not result in disappointment: it results in renewed effort to write suitable, stimulating and significant mathematics for the junior high school students.

Now that you understand the nature of the project, and how it differs from a committee on curriculum revision, I should like to say a few words about two things: first, the organization of the project, and how the experimentation is carried on, and second, the guiding principles that determine the choice of topics we include in our materials.

In the spring of 1958, Dr. John R. Mayor, Director of Education, American Association for Advancement of Science, and professor on the staff of the University of Maryland, was awarded a grant by the Carnegie Foundation to conduct a project for three years, to suggest

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and investigate possible revisions in junior high school mathematics, 7th and 8th grades. Because of Dr. Mayor's association with the University of Maryland, he decided to house the project there, and facilities of the College of Education and Mathematics Department were made available to him. Dr. Mayor then invited a group of people to serve on an Advisory Board of the Project with him. These included professors of mathematics, representatives of the College of Education, mathematics supervisors of four surrounding areas (the District of Columbia, Prince George's County, Md., Montgomery County, Md., and Arlington County, Va.) representatives of the state Board of Education of Maryland, members of the staff of the College of Engineering, specialists in the psychology of learning.

Everyone was well aware that at the fulcrum of any curriculum change stands the classroom teacher. Ultimately, it is he who decides whether or not the materials will actually get into the classroom. Two criteria must be fulfilled before a classroom teacher will try some new experimental materials: first, he must understand the work himself, and second, he must feel that these new materials will do a better job of reaching the goals he has for his student, than the traditional materials. The planners of the project, recognizing this, set up the following design for trying out the experimental materials. Each of the four surrounding areas was invited to recommend classroom teachers who might be interested in this project. Twenty-five teachers were finally chosen, for a three year period. They became the participants of what is known as the Wednesday Seminar. They attend the seminar (for which they get graduate credit at the University of Maryland) once a week, for two and a half hours. The first hour is spent in mathematics lecture, in which the participants get the necessary background to understand any of the materials being suggested by any of the current projects for revision of secondary mathematics. The second hour and a half is spent in sharing experiences as a result of trying out units they've written, and in the actual writing. The group breaks up into committees, each of which writes a teacher's manual for a unit it would like to suggest. Teachers in the committee which did the writing then volunteer to try the unit. When they report back to the total group, they turn in all drill material they used and tell in detail procedures followed, and describe their success or failure with certain parts. This report, plus the teacher's manual form the guide used by

the writing team which does the actual writing of the material that appears in the text and teacher's guide used in the classroom. Please observe that the classroom teachers actually participate in the planning and in the writing of materials. They don't suggest something unless they think it will do the job better. This plan of extensive teacher participation in the project fulfilled the two criteria for teacher-use of the materials. The Seminar has grown to about 45 participants. The materials these teachers write is of very high calibre. The topics are of such a nature that, if a supervisor gave a teacher such a unit and asked her to try it out, you could hear the shrieks of protest all the way to Washington! It is of interest to report that the people who are the most conservative are the mathematicians. It's Dr. Mayor who is continually concerned because he thinks the material we write is too hard; and we think it would be of insurmountable difficulty to teach what the classroom teachers write! It is a matter of history that this plan of teacher participation in the planning and writing of materials which originated with the University of Maryland Mathematics Project, influenced the design of subsequent studies and projects being currently supported by the federal government.

The dissatisfactions that existed with the traditional junior high school mathematics courses are known to almost everyone now. The 7th and 8th grades spent most of the time in recapitulation of the work of the first six grades; very little new mathematics was scheduled; the course was rich in what is called practical mathematics, taxes, banking, commissions, interest, etc. Students were bored; teachers were bored. The Univ. of Md. Math. Project (UMMaP) set up certain goals it would try to meet for children in mathematics at the 7th and 8th grade levels:

- To provide children with a deeper understanding of the fundamental concepts underlying the number systems we use.
- To break down the barriers between arithmetic and algebra.
- To give students an awareness of the structure of the mathematics they are studying.
- To give a proper foundation to students who wish to study more mathematics.
- To offer the students an opportunity to use the powerful tools of induction and deduction to make discoveries and establish proofs.

The materials chosen for inclusion in the 7th and 8th grade course were selected with these goals in mind. The subject of these levels was draped around basic concepts that we felt students at this level could well understand, enjoy and appreciate. If the subject matter that illustrates and uses this concept arises in arithmetic suitable for children this age, then that topic in arithmetic is included in the course. If the subject matter arises in algebra suitable for children this age, then that topic is included in the course. If it arises in geometry, then that topic is included in the course. The course is a course in *mathematics*. It is not partitioned off in a traditional way.

I should like to take one basic concept, outline its development, and trace it in the subject matter of the course. One of the most quoted statements about the teaching of mathematics heard recently is the statement from the Commission on Mathematics Report, in which they declare that an important goal of the teaching of mathematics should be the appreciation of the structure of mathematics. You must have heard a hundred times how important it is that the children do not get the impression that mathematics is a bag of tricks and disassociated tricks at that. All you have to do is memorize ten thousand rules and you're all set. There is much of the structure of mathematics that a junior high school student can understand and should have the privilege of studying. With this in mind, the Maryland course has at its hub, the concept of a mathematical system and the structures, group and field. The traditional content of the 7th grade course is also a major part of UMMaP's 7th grade course—with this difference, that it is approached not from the point of view that we need achieve only skill in manipulating with numbers. The point of view with which UMMaP's materials are written is that the number systems we use are structured like any mathematical system, regardless of the nature of the elements. This being so, we study the nature of the structure of mathematical systems in general, and then use this structure to develop the number systems we need, the number system of ordinary arithmetic, the system of integers under addition and the rational numbers.

Very early in the year the students look at the natural numbers. They are familiar with the elements of the set—the counting numbers—and they already have firm ideas about addition, subtraction, multiplication and division. So they have the elements and the operations

of the system. We introduce the idea of opposite operations and define subtraction as the opposite of addition (subtraction undoes addition) and division as the opposite of multiplication (division undoes multiplication). Thus if $2 + 3 = 5$, then at once we have $5 - 3 = 2$, and $5 - 2 = 3$. And if $4 \times 6 = 24$, then $24 \div 4 = 6$ and $24 \div 6 = 4$.

Here the student meets for the first time properties he has been assuming intuitively and using freely throughout his work in arithmetic. The commutative property with respect to addition which the child has used every time he checks an addition problem by adding down after doing the problem by adding up, is brought into the open and examined and not taken for granted. The whole approach to the idea of providing some sort of argument other than a totality of possible cases is treated intuitively. We realize that we cannot possibly take all examples to see if each one can be switched and still give the same result. But since addition at this point means a pushing together of discreet objects, we can see that it makes no difference in which order we push them together. Even at this point there does not seem to be any difficulty in using a letter to represent any natural number in order to write a mathematical statement for the commutative property under addition. So we write $a + b = b + a$, and the word algebra isn't mentioned. Commutativity for multiplication is handled with similar informality and the students finally write: $a \times b = b \times a$. Subtraction and division do not have this property and the fact that we can demonstrate that this is not true in a single case constitutes a proof.

Associativity for addition and multiplication is considered. Again we demonstrate to the students that they have been assuming these properties when they engaged in certain procedures with these operations:

$$\begin{array}{r} 2 \\ (1) \\ 9 \\ 8 \\ \hline 20 \end{array}$$

$$\overbrace{2 \times 8 \times 5} \quad 10 \times 8 = 80$$

Here we discuss and develop an intuitive proof for associativity and finally write: $(a + b) + c = a + (b + c)$, and $(a \times b) \times c = a \times (b \times c)$.

Closure is a property the purpose of which is not easy for the children to see. It has never before occurred to them that the sum of two elements might not be in the set. In their experience, instead of being told that the system of natural numbers is not closed to subtraction, they are usually told that the operation is impossible. The student is not ready to prove that the set of natural numbers is closed under addition. The best he can do at this point is to say that as a result of many examples he feels in his bones that the property of closure holds.

The same is true for the distributive property. All that can be done at this point is to provide examples such that the student will see that $a(b + c) = ab + ac$. There were 10 boys and 8 girls in a class. Each one brought 10¢ for the Red Cross. If we add the number of boys and girls and multiply by 10, we find that the class contributed \$1.80. If we find the contribution of the boys and the contribution of the girls, the total contribution is again \$1.80. Therefore, $10(10 + 8)$ is the same as $10 \times 10 + 10 \times 8$, and finally $a(b + c) = ab + ac$.

Order and the notion of betweenness are also discussed here.

After this introduction to the properties, the students are ready for the unit on mathematical systems. A clock arithmetic with a finite number of elements is a most auspicious environment in which to introduce the notion of a mathematical system. Because there are a finite number of elements, and consequently a finite number of combinations of them using any operation, it is possible to prove the properties with respect to the system. Two additional properties, identity and inverse, are considered here. At the end of this unit, the student describes a mathematical system by defining the elements of the set, defining the operations, and establishing the properties of the system. If the system under a given operation has the properties of closure, commutativity, associativity, identity and inverse, then this system enjoys the algebraic structure known as a commutative group.

The students discover that the system of ordinary arithmetic which is considered next in the course, forms a commutative group under multiplication. This means that we can always solve an equation of the form $a \cdot x = b$, if a , x and b are positive whole numbers or fractions. (In the set of natural numbers, the equation $a \cdot x = b$ has a solution only when a is a factor of b .) In the study of the system of ordinary arithmetic, we use a combination of intuitive approach

All this subject matter is customarily considered the bailiwick of algebra.

The system of rational numbers forms a field, an algebraic structure which involves two operations, addition and multiplication. Now it is always possible for us to solve equations of the form $ax + b = c$. The students are now ready for a technique for solutions of equations that depends upon the structure of the number system in which the equation is being considered. The solution of the equation $3x + 4 = 13$, would proceed like this:

$$3x + 4 = 13$$

$$3x + 4 + -4 = 13 + -4 \text{ closure for addition, additive inverse}$$

$$3x + (4 + -4) = 13 + -4 \text{ associative property}$$

$$3x = 9 \text{ definition of addition of rational numbers}$$

$$\frac{1}{3} \cdot 3x = 9 \cdot \frac{1}{3} \text{ closure for multiplication, multiplicative inverse}$$

$$x = 3 \text{ multiplication of rational numbers}$$

This brief outline of the concept of a mathematical system and its uses in the development of junior high school mathematics illustrates the new approach which depends upon the growth of fundamental ideas. Such an approach, we believe, will result in a richer, more stimulating, more efficient activity in the mathematics classrooms of the 7th and 8th graders.

V

Higher Education

How Can the Higher Education Needs of Secondary School Graduates Be Met by Our Colleges and Universities 1960-1970?

WILLIAM E. ARNOLD*

THE TOPIC which this panel is asked to discuss begins with the word "How"—"How Can the Higher Education Needs of Secondary School Graduates be Met by Our Colleges and Universities, 1960 to 1970?" If by the time we adjourn this meeting this afternoon, that question of "How" should be fully and satisfactorily answered then this meeting would be historic.

Obviously this question poses not only one of the most crucial problems facing education but one of the most serious facing the nation. Looking ahead to the next decade or two there is no doubt that we face an era of the greatest change, an era fraught with the greatest dangers or, if you are an optimist, the greatest opportunities, an era when the most far-reaching decisions ever made by any generation will be made. Some even say we are entering a period when the very future of civilization, or certainly our way of life, will be determined.

I believe the current great interest in education reflects a realization that our best insurance lies in the education of the generation of American citizens whose skills, knowledge, understandings and sense of values will be the determining factors.

The American people have always been magnificent in a crisis. They have, however, not shown themselves as effective in having foresight or in planning ahead to avoid the development of crises. The so-called present crisis in American Education was foreseen by students of education 15 years ago. Simple arithmetic foretold with

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certainty the situation which now confronts us. Preventative action should have started years ago. Education is a long process and does not lend itself to "crash" programs.

But let us turn now to an examination of the problems.

During the depression decade—roughly 1930-1940—the birthrate fell significantly so that the present generation of 20-30 years of age, and who in the decade of 1960-1970, or the years which we are to discuss, will be the 30-40 year age group, represents relatively one of the smallest in recent history. In the decade of 1940-50 (and also 1950 to the present) the birthrate increased by 50 percent. Thus the generation with the greatest number of college students will have to look for teachers from one of the smallest generations in recent times.

The present enrollment in higher institutions is about $3\frac{1}{4}$ millions. By 1970 it will double. At the present time $3\frac{1}{4}$ million students are being taught by an admittedly inadequate staff of about 250,000 full-time teachers. Using simple arithmetic again, from our smallest generation we must find at least 250,000 *new* college teachers plus the usual replacements. One estimate is that 350,000 new full-time teachers will be needed during the next eleven years.

We have heard much about the problems facing higher education: Expanded plant, faculty salaries, money for all the necessary functions of colleges and universities. These are of great importance. Theoretically the financial needs can be met by crash programs. The nation has abundant wealth to provide the money. Whether it will do so is uncertain. But to me the most difficult problem we face is where the faculties are to come from to teach twice as many students. Six years ago, 31.4% of *new* full-time teachers held the doctor's degree but last year this percentage dropped to 23.8%. Last year one of every five new college teachers did not have a master's degree. Borrowing from Peter to pay Paul is illustrated by the fact that 16% of the newly employed college teachers were taken from the teaching staffs of elementary and secondary schools.

2

MILLARD E. GLADFELTER*

It is not necessary to discuss the extent to which there will be need for extending opportunities in higher education in the United States during the next decade. Committees and commissions, pamphlets and population experts have done this for us. Those of us who are actively associated with higher education must seek solutions to several problems that will result from increased enrollments. These are:

The kinds of programs that youth and society need.

The sponsorship under which these programs should be stimulated and encouraged.

How we shall provide adequate physical facilities for their accommodation.

Programs that should be undertaken in order to provide adequately trained faculties.

Sources for financial aid to higher education.

I shall discuss the first two.

There is much concern about overcrowding or an inability to be admitted to baccalaureate programs. I doubt very much that our deficit in educational opportunity will be centered particularly upon this area. In the first place, we now have a very high drop-out rate in four-year programs. Almost half of those admitted to baccalaureate curricula do not graduate. Certainly there are many reasons for this loss. According to a very recent study of the classes of 1939 and 1949 at Temple University 60 percent of the drop-outs came during the first two years and 33 percent of those who discontinued ranked in the first and second fifths of their high school classes. The leading causes for drop-out given by those who responded to the inquiry, were as follows:

75.9 percent had difficulty meeting the financial costs or were required to spend too much time earning living expenses.

34.3 percent were not interested in their studies.

31.5 percent had no clear educational objectives.

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The above figures total more than 100 percent because some checked more than one reason. It is interesting to observe, however, that low scholarship was least prominent among the reasons given for withdrawal. This indicates that the criteria used for the selection of students need great refinement and also that either the students need better motivation for present baccalaureate programs or the programs need restudy. It also suggests that some way must be found to make it possible for our able and promising young people to complete their college experiences.

Fifty-five percent of those who participated in this study indicated their desire to return at some time to complete their education. An analysis of this figure would indicate that maturity, work experience, and improved financial circumstances might contribute importantly to a satisfactory performance in college. It is also possible for us to improve the quality of students in many of our colleges and curricula. As the number of applications increases, colleges which have been accustomed to admit students of low ability should raise the admission standards for baccalaureate programs and consequently the level of performance expected in these areas will also rise.

If the above suggestions are acceptable, then it becomes apparent that a large number of American youth who wish to attend college will not qualify for baccalaureate programs. In order to provide opportunities for these, we should follow the recommendations of the study groups and commissions that have issued reports all across the nation. The development of two and three-year junior colleges, community colleges, and technical institute programs is inevitable. It is for us to encourage a desirable pattern for their sponsorship and development. We should expect existing institutions of higher education to use their influence and experience wherever possible. If such institutions are developed under public auspices independent of existing institutions of higher education, their controlling board should as much as possible be independent of existing boards of education for public schools. Under such circumstances we are more likely to organize curricula that will meet society's needs on the level of higher education and encourage communities to recognize this responsibility as one somewhat independent of the management and support of elementary and secondary schools.

3

E. DeALTON PARTRIDGE*

It is obvious that the colleges and universities of America face a herculean task if they are to meet the needs of the high school graduates of the future. In view of the number of students now in our grade schools and high schools, it is obvious that the colleges and universities of America must do one of three things or a combination of these three if they are to face the future realistically. The alternatives would seem to be as follows:

1. Reduce drastically the percentages of young people who go through college.
2. Expand the colleges without regard for standards by organizing classes to be taught by persons who are not adequately prepared.
3. Develop methods for extending the influence of qualified teachers to larger groups.

Experience with the last few years has shown that it is possible to extend the influence of outstanding teachers so that they can instruct larger numbers of persons at one time. The word "instruct" here is used carefully to distinguish it as only a part of the total teaching process.

Teaching is a complicated process. It involves among other things: motivating individuals so that they want to learn, discovering the level of readiness or achievement of the pupil so that learning can begin at the stage he has reached, furnishing information, and finally measuring progress and counselling of individuals.

It is obvious from the experiments that have been conducted so far that it is possible to do a large share of the instructing phase of teaching by use of devices such as television, motion pictures, and recordings. It is likewise obvious that this does not supplant the teacher, but it does supplement the teaching process. It may be possible through developing a new role for the teacher on the college level that gifted teachers may be able to reach larger numbers of students, and thereby not reduce standards. This is one approach to

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the problem of increasing numbers in college. It must be examined carefully by those who are responsible for higher education.

The experience of the past year in the nationally televised course in college physics being followed this year by a course in modern chemistry indicates that a large number of colleges and universities are ready and willing to develop new methods of approach in the instructional process. Three hundred and fifteen colleges and universities have indicated they will offer the course in modern chemistry for credit this year, which indicates an increase over the number that carried the course in physics in the academic year 1958-59.

What those responsible for higher education must do is to define their problem carefully, to propose certain remedies to meet the problem, and then discover and garner the resources to set these remedies into effect. We must not look for a cheaper way to do it necessarily, but for a more effective way to do what obviously must be done if America is to retain its position in world affairs.

Current Problems Involved in the Financing of Colleges and Universities

D. L. BIEMESDERFER*

THE PROBLEMS which beset the financing of *public* higher education in Pennsylvania, with particular reference to state owned teachers colleges, are not very different from those which perplex the administrators of *private* higher education. Mounting enrollments, steadily increasing wage and salary budgets, demands for plant expansion, the effects of the inflationary tendencies of our economy along with numerous other related factors, conspire to aggravate the imbalance between inescapable costs and available revenues. To assume that a college, because it is state owned, has limitless financial resources which flow easily and ceaselessly into the institutional coffers at the merest flicker of the president's jaundiced eye is far from reality.

The financing of state owned teachers colleges in the United States varies from state to state but in a general way the problem in Pennsylvania is fairly typical of the problems found in all of the states. There are two chief sources of financial support for state teachers colleges:

- a. Fees paid by students
- b. State appropriated funds.

Lacking as sources of financial support are such elements as endowments, corporate and individual gifts, alumni giving. Federal subsidy, community campaigns, church support. In short, any increases in the cost of the education which is offered by these colleges must be met either by increases in the fees which students and their parents will pay or through increased appropriations of State funds which are derived from public taxation. In neither quarter is the prospect of heavier levies met with joyous acclaim.

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The problems for which solutions must be found may be more clearly defined if a quick look is directed at the current situation and the outlook for the future. There are 14 state owned teachers colleges in Pennsylvania with a 1959 total full time enrollment of approximately 20,000 students. The law states that the colleges are a part of the public school system and that their purpose is the education of teachers. The tuition of all students of the colleges who are residents of Pennsylvania and who sign an agreement to teach in the public schools of the Commonwealth for not less than two years, shall be paid by the Commonwealth. The cost of board and tuition shall be fixed by the Trustees and such additional fees as may be necessary for the proper education of the college may be charged.

During the 10 year period 1950 to 1960 enrollment at the colleges will have doubled while admissions requirements have been steadily raised. During the same 10 year period state appropriations have been increased 70% but income from student fees will have increased 130%. Looking at the picture another way to eliminate the effect of increased numbers of students, the state's per capita appropriation has decreased from \$541 per student in 1950 to \$481 in 1960 (assuming that there will be no further cuts in the proposed budget). At the same time, the students, commuting and resident students combined, will pay a per capita charge of \$523 in 1960 as compared with a per capita charge of \$433 in 1950. On the per capita basis the State appropriation has declined 11% during the 10 year period whereas the students' per capita contribution has increased 21%. During the 1959-1961 biennium students will be paying 52% of the cost of maintaining and operating the colleges while the state will pay 48% of the cost. It should be noted that operations costs, as considered here, do not include capital construction or debt retirement, obligations which, up to this time, have been assumed by the Commonwealth.

The historical basis for state support of the education of teachers would not seem to require review in this meeting. Suffice it to say that an educated and enlightened citizenry is an indispensable basis for the security of our democratic way of life and our free institutions. Competent teachers for the children of the commonwealth have been regarded as the keystone requirement for the guarantee of an informed

electorate capable of fashioning its own destiny. If this continues to be our guiding philosophy with respect to free public education, proper provision must be made for the education of teachers to serve in the schools. The costs of educating teachers must be paid and the problem of who shall pay the bill and how it shall be paid becomes more acute each year. Since the public interest is involved, to what extent shall public tax monies be employed? Since teachers are citizens and earn a livelihood by selling their services in the teaching profession, to what extent should they pay for their own education? Seymour Harris and some others, in reply to this latter question, would suggest that each student pay the *full cost* of his education. If this is the answer the state would withdraw its support and only those would teach who could afford the investment required by payment of full cost of the mandated program of teacher education.

To repeat an earlier statement, financial support of teachers colleges in Pennsylvania is derived from two main sources—student fees and state appropriations. More money will be required to finance teachers colleges in the years ahead for very obvious reasons. To obtain the necessary funds to what extent shall student fees be increased? Part of the answer to this question must be found in the ability of the student to pay and part of it will be found in the incentive to pay which is offered by the returns from his investment. What may students be able to pay?

In attempting to find an answer to this question, one of the Pennsylvania teachers colleges studied the occupational and economic status of the parents of 260 sophomores in the college. It was found that occupations represented by the homes of these students were—14 professional, 20 semi-professional, 51 clerical and skilled trades, 17 farming, 71 semi-skilled trades, 30 occupations requiring little or no training ability, 46 day laborers. Approximately 160 of the 260 fathers were in occupations which, according to national studies, would be in the classifications earning less than \$3300 per year. One hundred forty-three of the 260 students depended partly or wholly upon their own earnings to attend college. Twenty-five of the fathers were college graduates, 13 had attended college but did not graduate, 127 had high school education only, and 95 had less than a high school education. It seems reasonable to conclude that there

are definite limitations to the financial obligations which these homes can assume toward the education of their children. High college costs will unquestionably eliminate many of the sons and daughters of homes like these from the ranks of prospective teachers.

It would not be inappropriate, however, to be reminded that young people from homes like these can, by hushanding their limited resources and by engaging in part time and summer employment, and possibly taking advantage of one of the numerous available loan plans open to college students, obtain the benefits of a thoroughgoing college education. To do this calls for a certain degree of self-denial and self-discipline which, invariably, are the accompaniments of dedicated resolution and staunch character. If a student is willing to try to survive without benefit of an automobile, to minimize corsages, vodka, and weekend trips, to substitute the charms of the library for the thrills of night life, and to accept the idea that it might be wise to postpone a trip to the hymeneal altar and leasing an apartment until he is more nearly self-supporting, he will find that a college education is obtainable even if father is not busy clipping coupons. To one intent upon acquiring riches of the mind this, to some, spartan existence bears all the satisfactions that other less intellectually disposed campus habitues ascribe to the less exacting manner of life which they choose. What I am trying to say is that student fees can and should underwrite a part of the cost of this education, a part which is commensurate with the value which his education will have for him as a person and as a responsible citizen. To increase student fees while at the same time avoiding the danger of putting the cost of the education demanded for competent teaching beyond the reach of young people from average and below average income homes seems both necessary and defensible. A beginning has already been made in this direction since in the last 10 years, board and room charges have advanced 55% and other basic charges have increased 120%. Should legislation now before the General Assembly be enacted into law, resident students will be required to pay an additional 21% increase in housing fees to meet partial self-liquidation provisions for construction of new housing. Obviously, the principle of having the student bear a larger proportion of the cost of education for the teaching profession is being put into practice in Pennsylvania.

The State, too, must face the prospect of contributing more heavily to the support of teacher education. Per capita appropriations from the state have decreased steadily during the last decade in spite of increased total appropriations. The loss from state appropriations has been compensated for by increase per capita charges against students. This process, if continued, will result in pricing teacher education out of reach of many young people qualified to enter the profession. Wage and salary increments for instructional and non-instructional personnel mandated by law for the current biennium in teachers colleges amount to slightly more than \$5,000,000 but the total increase in proposed appropriations for the same biennium is only \$2,500,000. There is justification for questioning a procedure which mandates added costs of \$5,000,000 while appropriations of only half that amount are provided. If the commonwealth is committed to support this phase of the total public school enterprise it must, of necessity, accept its share of the increased cost.

Problems of Financing Private Higher Education

THEODORE A. DISTLER*

THE PROBLEMS of financing private higher education have a great many similarities to the problems attendant to financing public higher education. There are however some recognizable differences.

The sources for providing funds for higher education are as follows:

Tuition and fees

Gifts and grants—alumni, parents, friends, church, industry, community, government, foundations.

Bequests

It is perfectly clear that if we are adequately to finance private higher education, financial aid will have to be supplied from all of these sources, and in larger amounts than currently is the practice.

In recent years at least three different groups have looked into this problem.

The Commission on Financing Higher Education in 1952 declared: "These various sources of income are not all of the same importance . . . All of them are valuable, however. The answer lies in developing as many of them as possible and in such balance as economic circumstances allow . . . Out of this variety comes the flexibility, the freedom, and the originality which have contributed to the unique achievement of American colleges and universities."

The Educational Policies Commission of the National Education Association reached a similar conclusion in 1957.

In 1957 the President's Committee on Education Beyond the High School declared: "In the next ten years colleges and universities will require an enormous expansion of funds from all customary sources—besides tuition and fees, from alumni, corporations, and other private donors, and from state and local governments," and further: "There

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is no one best source . . . Only a balanced combination of total effort will serve the need without creating an imbalance in responsibility."

The Council on Financial Aid to Education, in projecting the sources of educational general income of colleges and universities in 1969, suggested that 21 percent might come from tuition and fees, 21 percent from gifts and grants, 3 percent from endowment, 5 percent from miscellaneous sources, and 50 percent from various governmental sources. This is an acknowledgment of balance. This was in the pamphlet entitled "Where is the Money Coming From?"

Most of the private colleges and universities are completely aware of these sources and have to a greater or less degree developed programs for tapping these resources, but these resources have not been necessarily developed in balance.

One finds instance after instance where certain constituencies have been solicited with good effect, but other resources have been neglected. The important element in the solicitation for funds for private institutions is balance. The private institutions must develop programs for appropriate solicitation in all of these areas so that they may have a balanced program and not attempt to lean too heavily on any one source. This requires far greater attention and organization on the part of private institutions than currently exists—and incidentally it is at this point that one finds the greatest frustration on the part of scholar-administrators.

In many institutions we have not yet achieved the kind of organization that will permit the president of the institution to maintain his position as the educational leader and still participate of necessity in the fund-raising activities of his institution. This is one of the most critical areas in the management of our private institutions of higher education.

I am convinced that higher education, if properly conducted and structured, can receive sufficient support from the sources I mentioned earlier and in sufficiently increasing amount to permit the institutions to function not only adequately but effectively.

I must mention at least one other phase that I consider as important as obtaining financial resources, and that is what, for want of a better term, I call an economical and effective program. I do

not mean merely effective management of financial matters, dormitories and the ordinary chores of housekeeping, but the actual academic program of an institution: the most effective utilization of a college plant; the most effective use of faculty personnel; the elimination of unnecessary and wasteful and useless courses; the elimination of the terrific proliferation of courses which one finds on every college campus. In this area, while there are some hopeful signs, and indeed some hopeful movements, much remains to be done in terms of experimentation and of a re-examination of the effectiveness of our educational programs. We have got to throw out many sacred cows from our academic barns and take a fresh look at what we are doing academically.

I wanted to make it clear that money saved is also money earned and that, while we must and will make successful appeals for funds, we have to be sure that our academic house is in good order.

Problems in the Financing of Colleges and Universities

SISTER M. EUGENIA*

IT HAS BEEN SAID that tradition often blinds us to the necessity for revising outmoded practices. Is not the support of higher education in this country a case in point? What has the support of higher education meant up to a few years ago?

To the student and his parents—it has meant the payment of tuition fees and dormitory bills; to the college and alumni—the quest for gifts; to the state—biennial appropriations; and to the man in the street—the price he pays for a football, baseball, or basketball ticket to the college stadium.

Thank God the pattern has changed and industry is coming forward in greater degrees each year to the help of the colleges and universities. The latest report of the Pennsylvania Foundation of Independent Colleges indicates the progress that has been made in this field. However, there is much yet to be done, since many up to this moment, have done little.

The Commission on Financing Higher Education has reported on its study of the financial problems affecting higher education. Of course, we understand that the desired minimum program of higher education cannot be expressed in monetary terms. In this connection, John B. Millet, in his report states:

"No concepts of minimum expenditure levels are applicable to higher education today such as have been developed by the primary and secondary school administrators. It might be possible to experiment with such minimum levels for a particular educational program but not for higher education as a whole. Even so, accrediting agencies

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have found it almost impossible to define a desirable minimum level of expenditure."

The Commission highlights what seems to be the most pressing current problem, especially of private higher education. I refer to the need of gearing expenditures to growing inflation. Ostheimer isolates the problem.

"In the boldest terms, therefore, the principal financial problem of the colleges and universities in the last decade has been to adjust to inflation. That an adjustment has been made, although an imperfect one, is due in no small measure to the cost behavior whereby larger enrollments add considerably less to expenditures than to income."

We, in particular, may be accused of acting out "cost behavior," but we are, as it were, forced to do so.

This adjustment to inflation may be understood as the relationship of expenditures to some past level of educational service. By comparing expenditures through a ten-year period, the Commission evaluated this adjustment.

In the period 1940-1950 enrollment doubled itself. During the same period, the expenditures also increased twice as much for the same educational and general purposes. Per student expenditure for the two years was taken as a measure of the educational program offered. The report covered 73% of the institutions in the Biennial Survey, and accounted for 92% of all current operating income.

In the light of these data, it was found that all private institutions had average expenditures per student which were considerably less in 1950 than in 1940. It is significant that only the junior colleges showed improvement. Private universities had expenditures which were 18% lower than in 1940, while the private liberal colleges had expenditures per student which were 21% lower in 1950.

When the Commission index was applied to a study made by Ostheimer, the doubled increase in expenditures represented an actual 19% decrease in dollars of the purchasing power of 1940—an obvious consequence of inflation.

The cited decline in per student expenditures since 1940 raises the problem of an accompanying decline in the quality of the program. It appears that some decline in the educational program necessarily occurred; however, the great changes in educational content and

method, the laboratory facilities needed for science programs, and the advances in the social sciences, make 1940 an outmoded criterion for quality of educational operations.

Instead of using 1940 as a yardstick to measure program quality, it might be more to the point to indicate that faculty salaries have not kept pace with the increase in the cost of living. If faculty salaries had risen proportionately, then the index used by the Commission on Financing Higher Education would have been 83% of all expenditures instead of the 71% which they listed. Unfortunately, it may be said that inflation has been held in check partially by the low salaries of the faculty. To the credit of their dedicated lives, it may be noted here that many competent faculty members remained in service.

The three greatest needs of all colleges and universities, according to the Second Report to the President by the President's Committee on Education Beyond the High School are: 1) Better salary scales to recruit and retain competent teachers; 2) adequate funds for the qualified student to take advantage of educational opportunity; 3) expansion of facilities. Before these needs can be satisfied in private institutions a larger source of income than at present must be realized, although the Committee maintains that tuition and fees supply the largest source of income at present.

Privately controlled institutions have problems which cannot be solved by increases in student charges. Because of fewer sources of aid, the needs are more pressing; consequently, private education leans heavily upon and relies confidently on the corporate support of education.

A fourth need has been suggested by the American Council on Education to the effect that we should participate in the expansion of work in international activities. Of course, present resources will not permit increased activity, since such participation would entail obtaining funds for many extra expenses. While the endowment offered by the religious faculty in terms of contributed services is a substantial amount, it is not adequate to provide for the solution of any one of these problems.

If colleges and universities are by their nature always short of funds, the college president who gets this principle firmly in mind

will save himself some psychological problems. Many say that he should never look for gratitude from the college for the money he gets. This is his obligation. Salary increases are expected and looked upon as a matter of justice; a new building for one department makes the need of another department more significant. On the other hand, the need for money that is necessary to carry on the development program of the college often creates another problem; this need, not its source, tempts presidents to do everything to please the people who help them. In this there is danger that improper influence may be exercised over the college or certain departments in it.

Alumni groups are a growing source of financial support, but they, too, pose a problem. In general, Alumni do not make large contributions; they often designate particular use, and married women do not care to call upon their husbands to support their alma maters.

I might conclude with a note from Sister M. Madeleva, the President of Saint Mary's College at Notre Dame. In her autobiography, Sister refers to a question which was asked at a recent meeting of the American Council on Education. The question: "Where, in the order of gifts, do colleges for women stand?" The answer was given: "Gifts for education go, first, to schools with big names; second, to big schools; third, to co-educational schools; fourth, to women's colleges." Sister Madeleva adds: "Last of all, to Catholic women's colleges."

So, the problems of all Presidents are many; the problems of some Presidents are staggering; nevertheless, we need not despair. With the help of our over-increasing number of friends, we shall all, under God's Providence, continue to promote the education of stalwart men and valiant women, who will carry the torch to future generations who will always believe in man's basic rights to "life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness."

Directions for Improvement in the Education of Teachers

FRANCIS S. CHASE*

ALL OF OUR EFFORTS to raise the quality of education will fail unless we can increase the supply of broadly educated and creative teachers. Preparation for teaching should be an extension of, and not a replacement for, a broad general education. It should deepen understanding by application of all that has been learned to a variety of teaching-learning situations; and it should be so conducted as to develop a spirit of speculative inquiry and a continuing search for new knowledge.

It seems clear that the young people in our schools are more likely to become students when their teachers exemplify a spirit of continuing scholarly inquiry. A scholar is driven by passion to enlarge his own knowledge and to project his thinking into uncharted areas. The good teacher couples this passion to know with an urge to enlist others in the joys that come from the discovery of new ideas. His enthusiasm for his subject impels him to unfold its marvels to others. This leads him to search for ways of arousing in young minds a hunger for knowledge and for ways of feeding the whetted appetites with the best that his field can offer.

In order to increase the number of scholars teaching in our schools, four conditions must be met:

1. Careers in teaching must be made attractive to young men and women of high intellectual ability.
2. Programs of teacher preparation must be such as to assure assimilation of a substantial body of knowledge in the teaching

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field and understanding of the methods of inquiry through which knowledge can be extended.

3. The teacher's role must be defined in terms of enlarged professional responsibility and be performed under conditions that allow time for reading and study as well as for planning and teaching.
4. The local community and American society as a whole must cherish scholarly activity and reward it in such ways as to encourage young people to become teachers and teachers to become scholars.

Two contrasting developments hold great promise for improvement in the education of teachers. They are: first, a new insistence that those preparing for teaching supplement a broad general education with extended study in a field of specialization (at the graduate level wherever possible); and, second, provision for extended periods of residency or internship as members of a strong teaching team.

In at least one major university a program of teacher preparation requiring a full two years beyond the Bachelor's degree will be put into operation next fall. This program will be built on a four-year program of general studies with some concentration in the teaching field and will include: (1) the equivalent of two-thirds to a full year of graduate study in the teaching field; (2) extended experiences with high-school classes under the guidance of a gifted teacher; (3) a seminar focused on the aims of education, the psychology of learning, curriculum theory, and interaction between schools and society; and (4) an internship of full academic years as a member of a strong group of career teachers in a good high school.

The Degree of Master of Arts in Teaching will be awarded on the basis of a thoroughgoing appraisal of each candidate's scholarship by a faculty committee from the graduate department concerned and a rigorous judgment of his competence in teaching by career teachers who have observed his teaching over extended periods.

VI

Audio-Visual Education

Educational Television—What's That?

JAMES ROBERTSON*

EDUCATIONAL TELEVISION almost defies description because it means so many different things to so many different people. It serves different audiences with different needs and interests at different times.

These many uses of the medium for education are growing. Six years ago the first ETV station went on the air. Today there are 44 stations with half a dozen more on the way. Their viewers are furnished an average of 50 hours of programs per week compared with 38 hours a year ago, 31 hours two years ago.

As Jack White, president of the National Educational Television and Radio Center told a Washington conference several months ago:

"Educational television is no longer a dream. It is a fact. The question is no longer, 'Can it exist?' You couldn't kill it now if anyone was silly enough to want to. The only question which remains is: 'How significant will it be?' To me the answer is simple and clear-cut: educational television becomes more significant with every passing month."

Perhaps the best way to provide evidence of this is to give you a quick glimpse of some of the ETV stations I have been privileged to visit since the Center established its new Station Relations department January 1. Let's look at what these stations are doing across the country.

In Miami, the efforts of WTHS-TV have proved so effective as an aid to the schools that the Board of Public Instruction is building a whole new studio production center and installing a new transmitter.

In Oklahoma City, KETA-TV, the state ETV authority's big VHF

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station covering an 80-mile radius of the state with higher education—most popular course: Russian language—now has been joined by the Oklahoma City schools' own UHF station which is designed to serve local in-school needs. Over in Tulsa, KOED-TV, now is on the air, transmitting the program service of the state authority.

In St. Louis, famous for its long history of significant in-school telecasts, the community problem of metropolitan planning has been brought close to citizens through KETC's full live telecasts of the Board of Freeholders' discussions. This fall marks the beginning of college instruction for credit.

In St. Paul-Minneapolis, KTCA-TV, operating out of a quonset building, has earned such community confidence that Minnesota's governor successfully recommended appropriations for ETV in his annual budget message, and the station now has over \$200,000 in the bank toward new facilities.

In Madison, WHA-TV, wisely spends its extremely limited budget by making itself an "ETV experimental laboratory," trying various program formats and schedules and researching the results.

In Milwaukee, WMVS-TV, operated by the Vocational School but serving all of southeastern Wisconsin, is broadening its in-school and community program schedule to include specialized education for industry.

In Chicago, WTTW's extensive schedule of community programs, college courses, and children's shows, now reaches almost a million viewers each week, and nearly 20,000 individuals have now taken its college courses *for credit*.

In Philadelphia, WHYY-TV continues the Philadelphia tradition of strong and able in-school use of broadcast media, meanwhile mining that city's cultural resources for strong national cultural programming such as the four programs recently completed for the Center with Eugene Ormandy.

In Detroit, with three capable and strongly-staffed institutional studios to supply it with programming, WTVS finds its UHF channel already crowded and talks of activating a second UHF channel to handle developing needs.

In Memphis, WKNO-TV's "Streamlined Reading" series utilizing

ETV to teach illiterates to read and write, is resulting in the formation of a World Literacy Center.

In Houston, KUHT, the pioneer noncommercial educational station, continues its on-campus and off-campus teaching by television, and its telecasts of the Houston school board meetings which allow every set owner a first-row seat, and makes plans for an even more significant future.

In New Orleans, WYES-TV, with its strong sense of duty to its community, earns recognition for discussions of local issues by local journalists and for its Fine Arts Festival on television.

In Alabama, the three-transmitter state network served by three production studios at the University, at Auburn, and in Birmingham, continues to improve a state-wide educational television service unparalleled elsewhere.

In Atlanta, WETV prides itself on being a station almost entirely run by former school teachers, all of whom have devoted unusual amounts of time and effort to really learn how best to utilize this new educational medium for effective instruction. Their success is evident to every visitor.

In Athens, Georgia, the University's Center for Continuing Education primes itself for a future air date early in 1960, meanwhile perfecting its technical and production know-how to insure a high standard of programming. They'll be ready.

In Lincoln, Nebraska, KUON-TV will this year enable a number of boys and girls in outlying small high schools to apply for college entrance. I visited a high school where the average graduating class over the years has been 14 students. This year, four of them will try for college, thanks to the educational television instruction they have received for the past two years from KUON-TV. Previous to this year—no student from that high school ever has gone on to college.

In Des Moines, Iowa, KDPS-TV went on the air April 27th, trained by professionals but manned primarily by a crew of 15 and 16 year olds. They said to me: "The professional ability of these 15 year olds is fantastic!"

In Urbana, Illinois, WILL-TV, despite budget limitations which

are almost crippling, manages to serve its college community with live stereo telecasts and programs contributing to the festival of contemporary arts.

In Boston, WGBH-TV's busy staff turns out a great variety of significant public affairs projects, builds a healthy new in-school program service, produces the "thought pieces" characteristic of that community, and for spice has added a goodly serving of children's programs and telecasts in the practical arts.

In Durham, New Hampshire, WENH-TV went on the air from brand new studios July 6th, discovered that its transmitter astride Saddleback Mountain—which I nominate as easily the most scenic ETV transmitter site in the nation—is putting a very good picture into far-away Dartmouth and over into a large part of the State of Maine. School programs started this fall.

In Cincinnati, WCET, a UHF veteran, reports an interesting rebirth of consumer and dealer interest in UHF, perhaps due in part to the solid and worthwhile job this station has done in in-school television . . . so strong that their school people already have committed their television budget for two years in advance. Late this summer this station moved into new commodious studios vacated by Crosley, and contributed as an outright gift to WCET.

In Pittsburgh, WQED's schedule of over 80 hours a week of school telecasts and community service programming is now being supplemented with WQEX, a sister UHF station, designed to handle a greater variety of in-school programs and specialized viewer group telecasts, clearing the VHF schedule for general broadcast service.

Other stations not yet visited have similar stories to tell—exciting stories of service to people with very real interest and very real needs. We must always remember that our ultimate target is the *individual to be served* . . . and that those of us in national organizations do not come into contact with that individual directly. It is the local ETV station which must reach out to touch that individual.

Our task at NETRC thus becomes quite clear. We must provide each of these affiliated stations with an ever-stronger program service tailored to the needs of the individuals they serve; this we do to the extent of eight hours of programming each week throughout the year. We must also assist each station to reach out to more and more

individuals in its own community; this we do through promotion and public relations assistance and through expediting the exchange of helpful information among the stations themselves, as well as by providing leadership on the national level.

What are some of the major problems of communication faced by those who strive to utilize television for education rather than merely for entertainment?

One major problem education faces is to interpret itself to the American public. I believe that one of the most important contributions which ETV is making today is its creation of an image of what education is all about. It can convince the average American that knowledge is power, that learning need not be stuffy but rather can become the most fascinating aspect of living.

Secondly, we must somehow communicate more effectively to educators themselves the values of this new medium in accomplishing goals which educators themselves have set. Too many educational and cultural institutions have either been unwilling or unable to make major commitments in the direction of educational television. This condition is rapidly changing for the better . . . and will do so even more rapidly as soon as more people with such institutions gain a first-hand understanding of what educational television is accomplishing elsewhere.

Finally, our major communication problem is the one faced by the teacher who attempts to make specific use of this new medium by teaching on television. We must make clear that *good teaching* and *holding an audience* are not mutually exclusive but rather are two aspects of the same enterprise. The academician and the showman must cease to suspect one another, must instead each contribute to this new joint effort in which both are indispensable. Teamwork between a teacher and a TV producer can be developed, has been made to work many, many times—without sugar-coating, without watering down, without affecting the validity of the material.

ETV's future can best be indicated in the words of ETV station managers in a recent conference:

"We call for vastly increasing support of all types for educational television broadcasting, consistent with the demonstrated accomplishments of the past and the mounting potentials of the future.

We are committed unequivocally to the overwhelming importance to our society of this communication adventure which motivates the mind of man to the pursuit of knowledge so necessary to his survival."

Closed Circuit Television

V. A. CHAMPA*

IN JANUARY, 1959, a closed circuit television (CCTV) system was installed in the State Teachers College at Millersville, Pennsylvania. Preparations for this step in teacher education were begun during the summer of 1957.

The author had had some experience with both commercial television at Lancaster, and closed circuit television at Penn State prior to the time when planning was begun on this project. During the summer of 1957 CCTV installations at Albany, New York and Hagerstown, Maryland were visited for periods of one week in each case.

It was decided that a low-cost industrial vidicon camera system would be used. The price of such an installation can be kept near \$20,000, whereas earlier systems tended to run well over \$50,000. By using the video transmission system instead of an RF system good picture quality has been easily achieved.

CCTV at Millersville was designed to serve two basic purposes. The first was to make possible observation of teaching in the campus school by various college classes, and the second was to use the facility for the teaching of multiple-sections. Observation of teaching was begun the spring semester of 1959, and this fall three sections of general psychology are being taught simultaneously by one professor over CCTV. A program of developmental reading is also in progress.

Two years from the inception of the idea have passed. Preparation time is necessarily long because in setting up an educational CCTV system much new ground has to be broken. Specifications for a tailor-made installation require much study and consultation, pro-

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curement of a CCTV electronic equipment technician takes much searching as there is no ready supply of such technical personnel, and the mechanics of introducing the new medium into the instructional program requires preparation and coordination.

Our system is already being used to near capacity for the observation of teaching, and we have made a beginning in using it for multiple-section teaching of college courses. Every room in the campus school is wired to pick up classes that college professors wish their college students to observe. Multiple-section college courses originate from a combination control room and studio. No effort is made to produce TV shows. The emphasis throughout is put on providing good teaching, and CCTV is merely the medium enabling us to provide these experiences to more students.

Another use of our CCTV facility that is emerging is the preparation of our teachers-in-training to both use CCTV for teaching demonstrations as well as utilize such TV demonstrations when received in the classroom.

From February to May 1959 observations via CCTV accounted for more than half of the observation done by the teachers-in-training in the elementary curriculum. There were thirty-five such scheduled observations with an average of thirty people receiving each observation. The total number of student observations surpassed one thousand with a minimum of disruption in the operation of the campus school.

Providing adequate first hand opportunity for college students to observe teaching practices done at a professional level as part of their pre-service training has become physically impossible without television. Methods classes are large and visiting classrooms individually has become impractical. Furthermore, with individual visitations the methods teacher is not able to comment on the various facets of teaching used as he is able to do when the observation is received by his whole class simultaneously via CCTV. The presence of more than four or five college students in a classroom to observe the teaching of children will upset the normal classroom situation far more than the presence of TV cameras.

Teaching was observed over CCTV by college classes in professional orientation, teaching of elementary science, art for the

elementary grades, music for the elementary grades, psychology and child development, and student teachers' practicum. Classes observed ranged from kindergarten through grade six. A demonstration on metal engraving was also telecast from the studio for the industrial arts society.

Procedure for scheduling the CCTV demonstrations places the initiative on the college instructor desiring the observation for his class. The college instructor confers with the teachers and the director of the campus school to find a suitable on-going activity to meet his observation objectives. Thereupon the director of the campus school checks the master observation schedule, maintained in cooperation with the office of the CCTV director, to find a suitable time. Weekly schedules of televised observations are sent to all concerned not later than the preceding Thursday.

The CCTV technician is responsible for setting up the equipment without disrupting classes in the campus school. To date one camera man has been present in the origination classroom to operate the various cameras. Plans call for remote control at an early date. However, the presence of the camera man in the classroom during the first semester was welcomed by the campus school teachers. They were new at this business and they found his presence reassuring. The pupils, used to life in a campus school, took the whole matter in stride.

After the demonstration the campus school teacher left her student teacher in charge of the class and joined the college class for a discussion of the televised observation.

Three TV cameras are used for picking up every teaching observation. Placement of the cameras on tripods is determined by the needs of each situation. In the observation receiving room three receivers show the three camera views simultaneously throughout the observation period. To reduce the distance from viewer to screen two banks of three receivers are placed along the inside long wall of an average-sized classroom.

This is still 1959 and not 1984 according to George Orwell. Television has come a long way in a mere decade, and to date it has proved to be neither inherently good nor inherently evil. The installation of a CCTV system is not always looked upon as a piece

of highly productive equipment, but on the contrary, it is often eyed as an ogre signaling teacher displacement. With fifty per cent of the college graduates over the next ten years being needed to solve the teacher shortage, the problem becomes not one of displacing teachers but rather one of using TV to increase the productivity of available teachers.

CCTV uses teachers in a team effort. Both the television teacher and the classroom teacher play vital roles in the learning process. Along with other audiovisual devices, including teaching machines, the time may be approaching when the classroom teacher may find some relief from excessive routine, repetitive drill, and paper work. Teachers may eventually be freed to work at a professional level, leaving subprofessional chores to less skilled personnel.

Closed circuit television (CCTV) is the most flexible form of television available for instructional purposes. Unlike educational programs broadcast as a public service over commercial television stations, or similar programs broadcast over educational television stations, CCTV can be more specific in regard to viewers, presentation, and content. Therefore, CCTV makes it possible for instructional television to become systematic teaching produced for certain pre-determined classrooms. I believe that CCTV provides a simple, inexpensive power tool that can be readily controlled to produce a tailor-made instructional program to fit each school or school district. It can be as simple or as elaborate as your needs.

Research in Audio-Visual Education:

The National Scene

A. W. VANDERMEER*

IN VIEW of the fact that the most recent bibliography on Audio-Visual Education that I have seen runs to some 1,500 entries, and that there are at least half a dozen monthly or quarterly magazines that devote their major attention to Audio-Visual Education, the task of spending fifteen minutes discussing research in *Audio-Visual Education on the National Scene* requires an extraordinary job of selection. I shall discuss briefly three generalizations that have been pretty well established by research, then indicate three additional areas of need, and finally mention briefly three resources that seem to be available to help us meet the needs in research in audio-visual instruction.

What is known about audio-visual instruction? Perhaps the most important generalization that can be made concerning audio-visual materials is that every kind of audio-visual aid, used singly or in combination, produces learning. The eminent British Educational Psychologist, J. P. Vernon, suggests that the difference between the incorporation of good audio-visual material into a conventional lesson or not incorporating it is approximately the equal of the difference between a good teacher and a poor teacher. I hope Mr. Vernon's generalization will not be picked up by economy minded individuals and twisted to mean that the public schools should reduce their drain on the tax structure by hiring poor or substandard teachers and outfitting them with a full complement of audio-visual aids. The fact is, of course, that audio-visual materials in the hands of an excellent teacher will most likely add as much to the over-all instruction, if not more, than they will in the hands of a poor teacher.

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Briefly running through some of the major findings: Philip J. Rulon of Harvard University studying the impact of a series of dramatic recordings entitled "The Sounds of History: Then Came War" found that students using these records learned facts, were prompted to do collateral reading so that they would learn additional facts, educed principles and generalizations, and were influenced in the direction of a firmer resistance to totalitarian ideas. Dr. Morton Malter, formerly of the Michigan State University and now at the University of Oregon, found in his research with students from grades four to eight that diagrams and cross-section drawings were comprehensible to the students above grade four. Lacking specific training in reading the symbolism of such diagrams, younger students, according to Malter, frequently failed to derive the meanings intended by the author. J. Wayne Wrightstone studied various methods of communication with students via line, bar and circle graphs. He found that younger elementary grade children were generally unable to read quantitative data presented by line graph but that sixth graders could use these media. He found further that bar graphs were more comprehensible to young children than were line graphs, and that the use of pictorial symbols in the place of conventional bars aided learning and retention. Knowlton and Tilton found that students whose work in history was supplemented with specially prepared motion picture film learned more facts, were more interested in their studies, and were better able to make generalizations than those whose history courses were taught only by conventional means. A. J. Cronbach of the University of Illinois has made an exhaustive study of text materials in education, and has determined that these devices have made a major contribution in American education. He finds further that the linear programing of knowledge inherent in the textbook method of presentation has had a pervasive influence on teaching method and has, perhaps, stifled the imagination of teachers, at least at the secondary school level, with respect to other means of organizing learning. VanderMeer compared the filmstrip on the *History of our American Heritage* with mimeographed material covering the same subject, and found that each produced the same quantity of factual learning. Hovland, Lumsdaine, and Sheffield studied the impact of specially prepared motion picture films on the

Attitude Structure of Inductees into the Armed Services. They found that such films did influence attitudes and that the attitudinal influence was greater for the less educated and for the less intelligent.

A second generalization which has been supported by a considerable amount of research is that audio-visual materials, when adapted to conventional teaching methods, produced the best results when used by techniques that involve motivation, intellectual preparation of students, repetition of information, reinforcement of learning, and the supplying of students with knowledge of the results of their learning. Probably the greatest amount of research in this area has been done by Walter A. Whittach of the University of Wisconsin who, in collaboration with John Guy Fowlkes found that learning increased in ascending order when these three methods of utilizing motion pictures were employed: (1) Introduce the film, show it, and test it. (2) Introduce the film, show the film, discuss the film, and test it. (3) Introduce the film, show the film, discuss the film, test, re-show the film, re-test. It will be seen that the methods incorporate motivation, intellectual preparation, and repetition, in descending order from the first to the last; which is the order in which the methods fall in terms of the amount of learning gained by the students. Dr. Chester MacFavish of West Chester State Teachers College has shown in his research that, dealing with students of junior college age, the learning curve rises steeply with the first and second showings of an instructional film, flattens out for the third showing, and, in some cases, actually declines after the fourth showing.

Research by VanderMeer has shown that certain subjects can be taught to ninth grade students of general science more effectively by the use of selected motion pictures together with exercises and study guides on those motion pictures which the students fill out, than the same quality of students can be taught by conventional means without the motion picture. You will note, that the "film taught" group did not employ the services of a teacher in the usual sense of the word; namely, in the sense of the teacher's being an intellectual leader in the classroom. It is true, that in this study only one unit out of four showed these remarkable results, but the results are no less remarkable for that, because in two other units the film

taught group was equal to the teacher-taught group, and in the fourth unit the differences in favor of the "teacher-taught" group were not statistically significant. The unit in which the motion picture taught group exceeded the teacher-taught group was elementary electricity. This suggests, of course, that one of the great values of the motion picture is in presenting information that cannot readily be visualized by other means.

The last paragraph in the previous section anticipates the third generalization; namely, that certain mass media—e. g., motion pictures and television—can teach some things as well without the teacher as the teacher can without the mass media. Dr. Nathan Jaspen has shown in his research that Naval recruits can be taught to assemble the breech block of a forty millimeter cannon without other instruction than that given by a twenty minute motion picture incorporating a slow rate of development, repetitive sequences, and simple nomenclature and simple vocabulary. One such film produced under Jaspen's direction resulted in more than 98% of the trainees being able to complete the assembly task after a single showing of the motion picture.

Numerous studies in various subject matter fields at the Pennsylvania State University have shown that class sizes can be greatly increased without statistically significant learning loss by the use of closed-circuit television. In at least a dozen public school systems throughout the United States similar results have been found, among the more notable being at Saint Louis, Missouri and at Hagerstown, Maryland.

There is no need which should have greater priority than that of fuller implementation of what we know about audio-visual materials. We know that they have tremendous potential, as yet largely unrealized, to improve instruction and to raise the level of education on the one hand, and to save both time and money for the teacher and for the school system on the other hand.

In spite of all that we know about audio-visual instruction, there is a great need for much more research. Specific areas in which research are needed are as follows: In the first place we need very much to study the improvement of instructional materials themselves. Thus far, we have relied entirely too much on intuition and on the

not too direct application of general principles of learning in the production and improvement of instructional materials. What I have said here is equally applicable to all types of materials from the textbook to the motion picture. Text books and motion pictures alike are produced to sell. Ordinarily their sales appeal is primarily that of eye appeal, since obviously the subject matter is likely to be relatively standard. There is a crying need for research to find out where the weak spots are in motion pictures, textbooks, and other materials, and how to overcome these weak spots.

The second area of needed research is that which explores the relative merits of the various combinations of materials. In one sense, the educational psychologist might call this "programming." The administration of the instructional materials program in practically all of the schools that I have visited has been so incredibly bad as to make it almost absurd to consider such questions as to whether a textbook assignment should precede a motion picture lesson or follow it. The facts of the matter are that in 99% of the cases the teacher is lucky to get the motion picture at all, let alone get it at the time when she thinks it might be most useful.

A third area of needed research is in the methods of using audio-visual materials in individual learning situations. I hope that the time is now past when the appearance of a spool of motion picture film in a school was an occasion for an assembly program where all of the children from grades one to twelve were brought together for the purpose of viewing the movie. We need further to reduce the size of the numbers of motion picture viewing groups and to explore means whereby these devices can be used, together with all of the other audio-visual materials, on an individual basis so that study of the motion picture, filmstrip, recording, or what have you can be as thoroughly individualized as the study of the textbook, the collateral reading or the reference book. The eminent psychologist, Skinner, has been working in the area of programming learning in this way. His results are provocative to say the least.

A fourth area of needed research is that of the reorganization of the curriculum and the administration of instruction so as to improve learning and to exploit the potential of audio-visual materials for greater economy of teacher power. The program of studies of

the average high school is a monstrosity resulting from decades of accretions of subject matter and activity with an absolute minimum or negligible amount of pruning and foreshortening. As a matter of fact, the entire system of graded school education, so thoroughly flies in the face of what we know about learning as to be almost totally insupportable. There is probably no greater need for research in the entire field of American education than in the area of curriculum organization and the administration of instruction.

Research studies pile up in libraries, but teachers and administrators ignore them. Granted that all the outcomes of learning have not yet been measured, we can and should make use of the findings that are supportable and the economies to be expected from such utilization. A good resource for audio-visual research is the local community especially the local school. The newly prepared classroom teacher today is a tremendous potential for research. In order to free his time for research and really professional educational services, we must mechanize routine tasks and assign semi-professional tasks to other less skilled school employees.

VII

John Dewey Centennial

John Dewey's Social Philosophy

GEORGE R. GEIGER*

AT THE OUTSET it must be acknowledged that 'social philosophy' does not have an unambiguous referent: it points in several directions, and there will be some who insist that it no longer points clearly anywhere. However, there is little ambiguity in the reception accorded by professional philosophers in recent years to whatever may pass under the label of 'social philosophy.' The reception has been cool; cool to the point of frigidity, and the reason, of course, is that social questions—because of their linguistic fuzziness and their inescapable involvement with values—are not readily amenable to the tools of logical analysis. They must be turned over to psychologists and social scientists, or, if one's tolerance for philosophic disreputableness is large, even to journalists, statesmen, Marxists, and existentialists. To be sure this is a professional disinclination only; that is to say, as a man and a citizen, if not *qua* philosopher, one can concern himself with social and political questions, perhaps during national election years. An interesting possible result of this professional disinclination of philosophers, as Morton White has recently pointed out, is that in this country at least the most newsworthy political philosophies of the moment oscillate between the revival of original sin and the resurrection of natural law.

This slighting of social philosophy—which would have been unintelligible to almost every great philosopher who lived before World War I—will be returned to at the end of this paper. Now we need to identify some of the various connotations of 'social' as it applies to philosophy, especially as they are found in the work of John Dewey.

First, there is his insistence that philosophy, like science, religion, and the arts, is part of human culture, sharing its tensions and its

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inescapable distortions, i.e., that it is no immaculate deliverance. This thesis underlies all of Dewey's thought; it is expressed most sharply in the opening chapters of *Reconstruction in Philosophy* and the article on Philosophy in the *Encyclopaedia of the Social Sciences*, but it appears in the introductory and historical chapters of nearly every book he wrote. Philosophy, according to him, is the agent, as it was in ancient Greece, which brings to consciousness the problems bound to arise in any self-critical culture; it is a social phenomenon and not simply the work of 'lovely though brilliant thinkers.' Dewey's argument, thus, is that cultural conditions have brought about the major changes in the direction and content of philosophical systems; more specifically, that the collision of the new sciences with already-determined cultural values has initiated a whole modern and contemporary set of problems—including the problem of the withdrawal of philosophy from the social scene to a concern with formalist manipulation.

In this line of argument, Dewey would find himself in the congenial company of anthropology, with its insistence on the determining role of culture, although, unlike the Marxists, he would be disinclined to select some single monolithic social agency. Further, he would expect philosophy itself to take a normative and creative role in the possible reconstruction of a culture. Here, then, is one basic use of 'social' by Dewey, a highly controversial use in that it is necessarily vulnerable to charges both of historical inaccuracy and of commission of the genetic fallacy.

An even broader meaning of 'social' is its employment as a category of explanation and even of existence. (The quickest reference here is to a 1928 article by Dewey in *The Monist*.) The point is one very close to the ideas of Whitehead. Relatedness is a basic trait of the world at all levels, since no event is exclusively solitary or singular. Such (social) relatedness becomes luminous as it appears on the level of communication between what Whitehead termed 'high-grade organisms,' but it is omnipresent. Like George Mead, Dewey then proceeds to develop the origin and character of such communication and to discover the mind, self, and consciousness in the symbolic relations among men, in their social behavior. He proceeds still further and employs 'social' as a category of explanation to help

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provide the context and almost the definition of thinking, scientific inquiry, knowledge, and value. Dewey's now familiar use of the all-important term 'transaction' is testimony to this extraordinarily broad use of 'social.' Even though this is not the customary understanding of 'social philosophy,' it must be appreciated that the very origins, problems, and fundamental categories of philosophy are, for Dewey, somehow 'social'—so that a paper with the present title should really be an exposition of Dewey's entire system. (But that gambit will be declined.)

Turning now to the more familiar and possibly restricted meaning of 'social philosophy,' there is, first of all, the use of 'social' as allegedly opposed to 'individual.' This kind of contraposition has been the burden of most of the current strictures against *security, conformity, the organization man, and groupness* in general. Some critics have attributed 'the lost individual' to various socially-oriented philosophies, and a few of the writers have been rash enough to have included the name of Dewey. Perhaps they have been careless rather than rash, for Dewey's persistent attack on the conformist has been almost a classic, occupying two or three books and large sections of others, the general theme of which is that he wants more, not fewer, truly rugged individuals. "There is more danger at present," he wrote, "that the genuinely creative effort of the individual will be lost than there is of any return to an earlier individualism. Everything makes for the mass." To which he adds, "Men who are balked of a legitimate realization of their subjectivity . . . will compensate by finding release within their inner consciousness." (*Experience and Nature*, 240-1) Again, "conformity is a name for the absence of vital interplay; the arrest and benumbing of communication . . . It is the artificial substitute used to hold men together in lack of associations that are incorporated into inner dispositions of thought and desire." (*Individualism, Old and New*, 85-6) To include Dewey among those who have been seduced by the magic of the group is as shortsighted as to see him a representative of *laissez-faire individualism*.

This running battle between the Individual and Society results, at least in part, from the reliance on bloodless abstractions, more incorrigible in politics than elsewhere. Dewey's point is that the

persistent use of vacuous abstractions like Individual and Society has done a work of untold mischief in deflecting the course of social thinking. When 'individual' or 'society' is looked upon as something-in-itself and factitiously separate; when the two are urged to co-operate or remain aloof; when it is graciously admitted that in reality their interests are mutual—then we are in the land of dialectic. We are using general ideas to solve particular problems. And that, for Dewey, is inexcusable.

As soon as the Individual is regarded as a general idea, he becomes something aloof, discreet, insulated, not to say amputated. But when individuals are specifically located, a different class of problem arises and questions like these become relevant: *which* individuals will be aided or harmed by this or that act? How will they be affected? Why are they in situations that make their being harmed or aided a problem? What will happen to other individuals as a result of what happens to them? In a complementary fashion, *society* needs to be particularized. Since the term "covers street gangs, schools for hurglary, clans, social cliques, trade unions, joint stock corporations, villages and international alliances," it has no meaning until, like the individual, it is localized. Which social groups should perform this or that task? In what way should a group approach its task? What other groups or individuals will be affected? Should specific groups expand or contract their jurisdiction? These, of course, are the most perplexing of questions, and, given our present lack of knowledge, many of them are now unanswerable. Yet, as with the questions about specific individuals, these can be translated into inquiries with content and thus reach out to the developing sciences of man. Problems about Individual and Society never can.

A second demurrer against the traditional opposition of *individual* and *social* is, of course, to be found in Dewey's now familiar idea of *transaction*. Used in the present context, it suggests that individuals, like minds, emerge from a social situation; they are indeed made and remade, although not by some monolithic force called Society. These relations are among individuals, not between Individual and Society. If they are mutually constitutive, as they are, it is simply that man is a social animal, not an animal that *becomes* social. "Individuals

who are not bound together in associations, whether domestic, economic, religious, political, artistic, or educational, are monstrosities. It is absurd to suppose that the ties which hold them together are merely external and do not react into mentality and character, producing the framework of personal disposition." (*Individualism, Old and New*, 81-2) This is Dewey talking, but it could be any philosopher who believes that man is by nature a social animal. In any case, this cannot be taken as further evidence of what some have termed the dominance of the social ethic—or of the depression of individuality. Nor need his rather obvious remarks about man's social nature be twisted into a form in which *social* is made to picture something out of 1984. Rather, they reflect that fact that man does extend beyond his skin and that individuals are also separate, alone, and sometimes frightened by being alone is not the exclusive discovery of existentialist psychology. Such loneliness, whether celebrated or deplored, is itself part of a transaction.

This, then, is a brief statement of Dewey's approach to a critical problem in social philosophy.

In these various meanings of the phrase, we come, finally, to *social philosophy* proper, or improper, i.e., the concern with what are known as social problems, chiefly those of economics and politics. We come also to the *liberalism* which, perhaps more than anyone else in American public life, Dewey represented for almost two generations. And if his philosophy seems dated, it would become almost a smear word as a *new conservatism* seems to be taking over and as piety becomes a prime political virtue. What, then, did Dewey mean by liberalism?

In an essay on Justice Holmes (which opens with a quotation of Holmes' celebrated "free trade in ideas" statement, Dewey observes that the statement "contains, in spite of its brevity, three outstanding ideas: belief in the conclusions of intelligence as the finally directive force in life; in freedom of thought and expression as a condition needed in order to realize this power of direction by thought; and in the experimental character of life and thought." These ideas add up to a general definition, for him, of the liberal position. He goes on to say that since liberalism accepts the central role of free intelligence in inquiry, discussion, and expression, it therefore involves

the substitution of scientific method for authority in social affairs, the interest in specific means as well as in honorific ends, and the general amenability of values to rational determination. This is a bald, unadorned statement of what is central for liberalism, yet even so it will be easily seen by those of you familiar with Dewey's work to fit in with his general philosophy; indeed, liberalism may be regarded as the application of instrumentalism to social and political affairs. We cannot develop this point, but it is necessary to say something about the currently depressed position of liberalism, resulting, it is alleged, from the conspicuous irrelevance of any attempted application of intelligence to social affairs.

The critics of liberalism manifest a shrewd instinct when they concentrate on its "intellectualism" and its "secularism" rather than upon its supposed political deficiencies; what finally turns up as the principal weakness of the liberal is, it appears, his religious dereliction. This is very clear in the polemics of the most pontifical of the new conservatives, Russel Kirk, but it is found as well in some of the more "liberal" conservatives like Peter Viereck, Clinton Rossiter, and Walter Lippmann. And, of course, the apocalyptic source of the idea is Reinhold Niebuhr.

The idea is that the liberal is a naive optimist and does not understand human nature and its depravity. He believes that man is somehow rational, good, and trustworthy; and so his philosophy—as has been said of Dewey's—is dignified, solid, and nice, without the pity or terror of tragedy, and above all without that fear of pride which certifies the pious man. In short, the liberal neither understands nor accepts sin. Or, in more secular language he fails to accept (it is held) that man is no better than he should be. Thus, when things don't work out—largely because man has been grossly overrated as a rational animal—the liberal becomes hurt, bewildered, and, more than anything else, tired.

Even when he is not tired, the liberal is said to be congenitally inactive. This is traceable to his purported habits of tentativeness, of seeing both sides of the question, of weighing issues too long and too carefully. He never makes up his mind to do anything and constantly vacillates between "yes" and "no," winding up usually with an anemic "maybe." There is a pathetic reasonableness to his conduct,

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which makes him pathologically wistful or, in times of crisis, dangerously obstructionist. This indecision results from the fact that the liberal, because he doesn't seem to believe in absolutes, can't take anything too seriously; he has no basic convictions but only working hypotheses to go by, and the resulting fecklessness can never capture the imagination or the emotions. Commitment, so the critic proposes, demands something more exciting and certain than the secular or the scientific.

We have concentrated on a single constellation of supposed liberal inadequacies because the suasion of the critic is nowhere more seductive or insinuating than here. More forthrightly, it is here, in the tentative and fumbling efforts of human intelligence to understand itself and its limits, that the symbols of liberalism—to use a phrase of Charles Frankel's—reveal an inescapable thinness. At certain times the thinness is almost emaciation. But that John Dewey was insensitive to this type of criticism or failed to answer it is just as thin a contention. (Many references can be given, the most succinct perhaps being Dewey's answers to questions of this nature by the present writer, to be found in the Schilpp volume on Dewey's philosophy, 361-8, 591-4.) The following is an abbreviated statement of what seems to be his position.

Dewey believes that the substitution of hypothesis for the fixed idea (which, in the present context, may be understood as the ambiguous ability to see both sides of the question) could well prove to be the unique contribution science will make—or could make—to civilization itself. This is not simply a matter of sweetness and light. It is simply that no other way has yet been discovered to understand and control the dramatic changes that have all but overwhelmed man in the few centuries following first the scientific and then the technological revolutions. It has been argued that except for the invention of fire nothing has happened to man of more significance than these revolutions. Nothing has brought about more constant and profound alteration in every aspect of his life.

To handle these revolutionary changes—not to mention the whole concept of evolution itself—science has had to develop the flexibility so conspicuously absent from pre-scientific inquiry and still conspicuously absent from those regions of experience held to be

outside the precincts of science. It is simply that a rigid and doctrinaire method would be unable to grasp the world, either the natural world of gradual change or the technological world of revolution. "The pure conservative," said Whitehead, "is fighting against the very essence of the universe," whereas scientific liberalism institutionalizes revolution—as George Mead said of democracy itself. Both Dewey and Mill agree that the liberal's rejection of infallibility is a strategy of understanding and control, not primarily a principle of morals.

Let me put the same thing another way. Criticism of the liberal attitude of hypothesis and tentativeness seems itself to rest on an assumption that unless there is absolute certainty nothing can be done. Without certainty there can be only (liberal) fumbling, hesitation, and general impotence. Now, it is not enough to say that such an assumption is the philosophical basis of any form of totalitarianism. More to the point, such an assumption is simply unfounded. The constipated notion that tentativeness of judgment means suspension of action has been repudiated by a methodology which has made more things move than has any other force in Western culture. It is equally repudiated by the ordinary activities of life where probability is clearly the guide. Only in politics, it seems to be argued, must we be certain. Dewey the liberal is asking for the methodological tolerance so often missing from social affairs. What Bertrand Russell has said of the function of philosophy in general, Dewey would apply specifically to the contribution of science and of liberalism, that it "can teach us to live without certainty yet without being paralyzed by hesitation."

Of another characteristic indictment of the liberal, his naive optimism, let it be said clearly (as Dewey has said many times) that there is here no eighteenth-century belief in necessary progress, much less a dialectical conviction of inevitable triumph. Nature is what it is; it is neither good nor bad in general. It is a fit subject neither for moral praise nor blame but, in a Baconian sense, for 'exploitation'—which in no way precludes an appreciative, esthetic, or even a pious reaction to the natural scene. Nature need not be approached optimistically or pessimistically; what William James called 'meliorism' would be more appropriate. The natural world and the social world alike present a challenge; they can be changed and they have

been. The working assumption of liberalism is simply that nature and man present the possibilities for reconstruction.

There is no unbridled optimism in this any more than in the liberal's ostensible faith in human reason. This turns out to be simply the recognition that man *does* solve problems through reflective thinking, that intelligent inquiry is an instrument which the human animal has developed. It has not solved all problems and never will; such a recognition does not mean a blind reliance on the omniscience of a monochromatic reason, such as may well have hypnotized the eighteenth century. Disillusion with an Age of Reason cannot legitimately carry over to the more modest position which accepts free intelligence as a prime problem solver, an intelligence, moreover, which fits into the pattern of an entire human personality and is not exclusively 'intellectualistic' in some now suspect sense. It is this qualified trust in man's ability to solve problems which constitutes the Dewey position and that of liberalism in general; to renounce this trust would seem indeed a perilous adventure.

But, at this point, the critic must be allowed to interject. (There are, of course, many critics, but I have in mind a constructive one, and one who does not hesitate to call himself a liberal—Morton White, especially in his *Social Thought in America*, recently reissued.) Above all, is he impatient with the 'wishy-washy' character of Dewey's liberalism. To be sure, its heart is in the right place, and there are many of us who would have to give at least lip service to some of the brave words of the preceding pages. But where is the program? Where is the social technology which should stem from Dewey's attack on formalism? Indeed, can a political program be set up without being dogmatic, without therefore falling into what, for liberalism, is a mortal sin? Without doubt, these are pertinent and embarrassing questions.

In response, it must first be understood that Dewey was not insensitive to this very difficulty; in the Schilpp volume (592.n.) he admits that he himself has "done little or nothing in this direction," that is, in what can be called social engineering. This is perhaps an overadmission. A book like *Characters and Events*, which is composed largely of articles written by Dewey for the *New Republic*, many of them during the Depression, will show how he attempted

to apply specific and even parochial plans to the issues of the time. This was no mere celebration of planning; even though some of his contributions now seem not only dated but occasionally misguided, the suggested hypotheses and experiments are a clear indication of what amounted to a new approach to politics.

Now, what about this emphasis upon *planning*, a word Dewey introduced into his writing as early as 1918. His point, of course, was that intelligent and scientific inquiry, as applied to social matters, would demand planning. It must be realized that this is a term which tended to produce a semantic block. On the one hand, it provokes the stereotyped reactions which associate planning with communism and bureaucracy and contrast it with free enterprise, the American way, individualism, and even piety. On the other hand, the word seems to some to have a magic and to be able by itself—such is the magic of great words and phrases—to solve our problems. In both cases, there is the unhappy reliance on concepts rather than on specific operations. I do not think that Dewey was guilty of any such reliance: the long inventory of his own concrete political proposals would point in another direction. At the same time, he was also suggesting a series of presuppositions about planning something like the following, although these are not his words: That it is possible for human intelligence to intervene decisively in the course of human affairs; that planning is a way of solving problems, not a completely predetermined program; that planning is indeed forced upon man by changing economic and technological conditions; but that the direction of the planning is still his option. Dewey's option was always to surround any form of planning (even if it be termed 'socialistic'—a word he was not averse to using) with all the democratic safeguards and thus to avoid any slide to totalitarianism—a pious hope which the non-liberal will see as but one more evidence of the liberal's naïvete.

But even the professed liberal would have to admit, I believe, that Dewey's views on social affairs—ranging as they did from an almost belligerent economic determinism during the early 1930's to a profound criticism of Marxism after the Trotsky trials, from a pre-World War I pacifism to justification of that war and then to neutralism before America's entry into World War II and discouragement

after it (to mention no other examples)—shows a vacillation that would repel the purist. It is a vacillation, however, not absent from other liberals with a distinctly different philosophic background, e.g., Bertrand Russell.

Yet this may be unfair. Even the critic of liberalism must admit that a test of consistency would eliminate a very great number of social theorists and practitioners, liberal and anti-liberal. Perhaps what we should have to settle for is the salvaging of a temper, for, as Morton White puts it, the temper is a good and humane one, "honest, courageous, rational, and enlightened." Now, are these words merely honorific, just as is this whole celebration of liberalism, or can we use them to return us to a problem raised at the outset—the *justification* of social philosophy?

It will be remembered that this was not really a problem for Dewey since he regarded the very nature of philosophy as thoroughly social on all levels. It is possible that philosophy itself might require *justification* but no special reason why *social* philosophy should. The philosophers who *count*, Dewey would have argued, have been engaged with the problems of their culture, and if today such individuals are not likely to be found in academic philosophy departments, so much the worse, he would have said, for those departments.

However, I do not wish to be defensive here at the end and simply provide testimony to Dewey's position by quoting the works of almost every leading philosopher in the history of ideas. More constructive might be a plea to contemporary philosophers—those, at least, of the various analytical persuasions—to relax their self-imposed helplessness in the face of social questions, and to recognize that analysis is a tool which can be used upon social and political affairs as well as upon epistemological. To be sure, this is already happening to some extent, and recent collections of analytical essays have come to include a number of scrupulous investigations of the meaning of political concepts, e.g., that of natural law. But much more needs to be done here, in both Britain and America, and, frankly, I see no reason why it cannot be done and at no loss of philosophic respectability.

Next, it should be urged that there be increased cooperation between philosophy and the social sciences, just as there has been

between philosophy and the natural sciences. Unless philosophy lays claim to a higher kind of knowledge, such cooperation would seem essential and inevitable. The knowledge, especially in the field of value, being supplied by cultural anthropology is particular, and in general by the behavioral sciences, including field theory in politics, is of critical importance for the philosopher of any persuasion. Interest in this type of material cannot seriously be regarded as an abandonment of philosophy, and, indeed, both in this country and in Great Britain, an increasing rapport between anthropology and ethics seems to be coming about. Along this line, there is need for what Morton White has called the *in-between* thinker, of the nature, say, of a Mill or a Locke. Indeed, a twentieth-century analytical counterpart of Mill *On Liberty* or even of Locke's Second Treatise is a consideration which the most formal of philosophers could reject only with some difficulty.

Yet more than this is involved in social philosophy, at least in Dewey's interpretation of it, since a philosophical concern with social issues is nothing less than the attempt to apply intelligence generally. This is why his liberalism has been emphasized and why the questions about liberalism, a page or so back, can be used as cue to a conclusion, which might go something like this:

There has been, it would appear, an uneasy division of the world of knowledge, one in which science received jurisdiction over the *outer* world of things and facts, whereas something else—call it what you will—was to command the *inside* world of the spirit and of values. Similarly, there has been an invidious distinction between the natural sciences and the social sciences. Of course, this division is breaking down: neither is the inside world of mind nor the amorphous one of social phenomena exempt from investigations which are clearly scientific. But this initial penetration has been resisted, and it is precisely this resistance, Dewey feels, which is at least partly responsible for the ambiguous reception accorded to science, making it liable, as it were, for the very failures over which supposedly it has had no jurisdiction. It is for this reason, if nothing else, that scientific method must extend its domain or risk having human intelligence itself regarded as no more than a kind of amoral gimmick.

In his ninetieth year, in a kind of valedictory, Dewey addressed himself again to this crucial problem, so inadequately symbolized by *social philosophy*:

A hiatus exists within scientific inquiry, and it is intimately connected with our present disturbed and unsettled state. It is for the philosophers today to encourage and further methods of inquiry into human and moral subjects similar to those their predecessors in their day encouraged and furthered in the physical and physiological sciences: in short to bring into existence a kind of knowledge which, by being thoroughly humane, is entitled to the name moral . . . The one thing of prime importance today is development of methods of scientific inquiry to supply us with the humane or moral knowledge now conspicuously lacking. (*Commentary*, October, 1949, 391)

This is perhaps the note on which to end, although codas are usually extravagant and full of bravura. The quiet note is produced by the position that a liberal approach takes, lying as it does between the extremes of distrust of human experience at one end and intolerant confidence in dogmatic formulas at the other. Such a position is always a matter of hope and promise—hence Dewey's ideas are necessarily vulnerable. We may simply say, then, that when men are finally ready to apply intelligent inquiry to the solving of their problems—and if they never are, nothing more need be said—John Dewey's ideas will still be available.

Comments on Professor Geiger's Paper

ISRAEL SCHEFFLER*

WE ARE indebted to Professor Geiger for presenting, in brief compass, an excellent review of basic aspects of Dewey's thought as well as an excellent discussion of current controversy surrounding it. We are also indebted to him for taking the occasion to point out how, by contrast to Dewey's breadth of interests, our own philosophic preoccupations have narrowed in scope, and for urging philosophers to apply their analytic instruments to social issues. There is no doubt in my mind that Professor Geiger's discussion is sound, not only in its interpretation of Dewey, but in its defense of Dewey's liberalism against the familiar charges that it applauds conformity, rests on a belief in necessary progress through the exercise of reason, and stultifies action by its rejection of absolute certainty. I am further convinced that Professor Geiger is right in urging the application of philosophical analysis to social subject-matter; standards of clarity and valid logical argument are not limited to non-social topics in scope. If philosophers foster the application of such standards to the cloudy and conflict-ridden sphere of social thought, they will, moreover, not only be doing a professionally engaging task, but also strengthening the traditions of rational discussion central to free society.

To say all these things does not, however, imply approval of Dewey's social thought as a whole. His use of social categories in philosophy seems to me in fact excessive, and often as unilluminating as the juggling of vacuous abstractions that he so persistently deplors in others. He is basically a moralist eager to reconstruct the common life of men, but since he is also a philosopher, he generalizes the social categories natural to the moralist and tries to get the universe to fit. Is it any wonder that characteristic distortions result, that—

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to take a prime example—his emphasis on the social function of thought impresses many critics as doing less than justice to the autonomy of theoretical inquiry? Is it cause for surprise that, in a phrase of Morris R. Cohen, Dewey stresses the value rather than the dignity of thought?

These remarks suggest what I mean in saying that Dewey overworks his social categories in philosophizing: he occasionally distorts his subject matter by forcing it into the social mold where another mold might have served better. I have yet, however, to illustrate my other complaint, namely, that Dewey's employment of social categories is often quite unilluminating, despite the appearance that some thesis of deep significance is being propounded with their help. For such illustration, I turn to Professor Geiger's convenient listing of Dewey's uses of social concepts, and begin with his cultural interpretation of philosophy.

How significant, to begin with, is the assertion that "philosophy, like science, religion, and the arts, is part of human culture?" Can anyone seriously deny this statement, taken in its ordinary, literal sense? Has anyone ever supposed that philosophy was an enterprise of the angels or the beasts rather than of men capable of reasonable discussion with other men?

Perhaps the suggestion is rather that, being part of human culture, philosophy should deal primarily with the human problems of that culture. But the mere fact that philosophy is part of human culture no more serves to establish that philosophers ought to deal with the "problems of men" than the fact that physics is part of human culture shows that physicists ought to do research on child-rearing techniques in the new suburbia.

Suppose it said, however, that the basic point is after all, as Professor Geiger puts it, that "cultural conditions have brought about the main changes in the direction and content of philosophical systems." What news, we may then ask, is there in this claim? Surely no one has ever considered changes in philosophic systems to have resulted from windstorms or the deformation of the earth's crust, whereas, on the other hand, unless we include among relevant cultural conditions the ideas and arguments of prior and contemporary thinkers, the claim is without adequate foundation. Once,

however, we make sure to include such ideas and arguments among the cultural conditions shaping philosophy, the claim loses all its excitement, for, in the very same sense, mathematics and physics are equally determined by cultural conditions which include, of course, the published investigations of professional colleagues. No one supposes that this rather obvious fact has any relevance for the working mathematician or physicist—that, for example, he should give up his professional canons of rational criticism and judge new theories by how well they are attuned to prevailing social and economic conditions. Unfortunately, the analogous rather obvious fact about philosophy has encouraged the supposition that philosophical truth is a matter of harmony with the general culture.

What remains after all this hoiling down is the proposal to investigate the relationships between philosophies and social, economic, and political factors. Nothing said above is to be construed as denying the legitimacy of such investigation, or as detracting from Dewey's merit in carrying it forward. I am protesting rather against the idea that a significant thesis has been presented.

For my final illustration, I turn now to what Professor Geiger calls Dewey's explanatory use of social categories, a use which seems to me deceptive in its appearance of profundity. To say, for example, that "relatedness is a basic trait of the world at all levels since no event is exclusively solitary or singular" is to say no more, it seems to me, than that there are at least two events if there are any, a proposition hardly likely to inspire heated arguments or doctoral dissertations.

To offer, further, a specific account, in the fashion of Mead, of the way in which mind, self, and consciousness have developed out of society is to propose a theory speculative in the extreme; on the other hand, to limit oneself to the more cautious assertion that language is not the invention of some ancient hermit but a product of the life of people in groups is to say nothing very informative. May I emphasize that I am not here criticizing Dewey's contribution in encouraging the study of social factors relating to the mind. What I do question is that certain of his uses of social categories in fact present us with illuminating theses.

In the foregoing remarks, I have tried to indicate some of the ways

in which it seems to me that Dewey's social thought may validly be criticized. To summarize some of my own positive emphases, I have advocated a greater acknowledgment of the dignity as well as the value of thought, a clearer recognition of the indispensability of rational argument in philosophy, and a more critical attitude toward the theoretical uses of social categories.

I do not know to what extent Professor Geiger agrees with my comments. I can, however, say that I believe him to be right in laying such great stress on Dewey's breadth of human concern and on his championing of democratic and scientific values. It is in the cultivation of these central traits of the liberal attitude that Dewey's example and contributions are outstanding. It is here, too, that he has the most to teach us today.

Concerning Dewey's Contribution to a Philosophy of Education

MARC BELTH*

MY STUDIES have long ago led me to recognize that in John Dewey we see a basic creative segment of America becoming conscious of its own genius. In him, America becomes selective of her own future, choosing the ways of freedom of thought and act, rather than limitations of even the most subtle arbitrariness.

I intend here to make only two very brief observations, out of an almost infinite range, so what I think characterizes Dewey's contribution to a philosophy of Education. The first deals with the relationships he conceives as obtaining between theory and practice, and the guidance this gives him for consideration of a teacher-training program. The second is an observation on Dewey's theory of history, and its consistency with the centrality he gives to method in the development and expansion of intelligence.

Dewey does not *assume* a relationship between theory and practice. His understanding of the function of experience, and its scope and influence in the growth of men, leads him to search into that experience for the connectives that can be discovered to hold between the theories which men entertain, and the practices they undertake. And he finds it at the point that he is able to distinguish between that action which is compelled by immediate conditions in the interests of immediate results, on the one hand, and that thought which is able to identify the context of a situation, and rehearse possible consequences of a variety of possible choices before it makes its responses. Theory, or ideation, or intelligent reorganization of the disbalanced condition before us, makes it possible to mark out the limits of the context in terms of what is and what is not pertinent to

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the resolution of perplexity. Thus, he does not assume relationship between idea and action. He identifies it as the sustaining conditions which makes prediction and control possible, before the conclusion has been invited to appear. For Dewey, there is an experientially necessary relationship between theory and practice, since, without theory, the practice actually undertaken would hardly be possible.

But there is another very crucial point to be observed here. In any given experience where an irresolution occurs, theory exposes not so much *the* practice which will bring about resolution, but *practices*, from among which resolutions are seen as possible. The active resolution is not a verbal affair, nor is it simply a logical affair, in which contemplation produces within itself the one practice which is acceptable. As an instrument, theory is the means by which the *range of possible practice* is revealed. The actual decision, as to the pertinence of practice is a choice for those who are directly involved in the concrete situation. From a possible range of choices, each of which would be harmonious with the theory entertained as a method of describing the context, and containing within itself reference not only to the immediate dislocations, but also such value commitments, and levels of knowledge as are pertinent to this situation and its relationship to the culture as a whole, the practitioner undertakes the practice that becomes, in effect, the test of the theory itself. And on this ground, to note that Dewey was far more concerned with method than even with his own conclusions, is to observe that he recognized that each new situation demands new practices saving only that they be consistent with theory that undergirds them. For theory, though it is bound to practice, is not identical with it. And only practice can endow theory with primary, experiential meanings.

For this reason, Dewey was never especially moved to indicate the practices which he thought would produce adequate teachers. He was much more concerned to remain the philosopher, and set forth the definitions, the clarifications, the understandings of what would, indeed, constitute the creative teacher. Technique alone, Dewey was always at great pains to show, produced only "sharps," tour-de-force, in which the educational growth was lost in pyrotechnics. On this side, when he sees greatness in teaching, in practice, his

only concern is to try to set forth the generic traits of the activity, so others might better grasp what constitutes this greatness, and perhaps be enabled to move in this direction.

* * *

Let me make a brief note of Dewey's concept of History, for I think it can be well understood in light of the previous discussion. There is no need to repeat the variety of attitudes held about Dewey's concept of history. The fact is that his notion of the meaning of history is so very different from the usual concept that it is almost impossible to make a simple identification of relationships between his and other views. Because he does not see History as the increasingly accurate record of the past, it can neither be said that he neglects history (in his sense), nor that he has a sense of piety toward it (in this same sense). If history is a record of any kind, for Dewey, it is a record of the *expansion of methods of choice*, of instrumentalization in intelligence about the situations whose time identification is earlier than any given present. If one is to raise any questions at all about this concept, it is at the point of asking about that which on occasion seems to be a commitment to inevitable continuity between modes of choice in one generation and expanded modes in another. Dewey never did come to grips with the issue whether or not he saw a cumulative effect in decision-making capacities from generation to generation, but it is worth studying his writings for what is implied.

At any rate, in examining Dewey's treatment of the past, it is necessary to distinguish between the psychological and the logical evaluation. It is perfectly true that Dewey had an appreciation of the efforts of those who had preceded us, and whose contributions changed the course of the lives of the generations that followed. But as the word appreciation suggests, this is a psychological, perhaps even an esthetic response. This does not mean one devoid of intelligence, but it does mean one which responds with delight, or gratitude, respect and compassion for the labors of others. But on the logical level, it was always Dewey's concern not so much to identify the stream, the direction which the past points out, but the way in which commitment, knowledge and decision are bound up with the

choice among consequences. Nowhere is this distinction better noted than in Dewey's handling of the concepts of Jeffersonian democracy. His appreciation of Jefferson never prevented him from seeing methodological inadequacies for a theory of Democracy in the Twentieth Century. For in light of the concept of the relationship between theory and practice which was set forth above, moving events are moving precisely because the contexts of our experience expand and diminish as we move forward in time. And each new context adds to or detracts from the meanings we are able to entertain of other events, present or past, or future. Perhaps I can give a simple example of what Dewey intends here. When Eugene O'Neill's **GREAT GOD BROWN** was presented for the first time, the context in which it was encountered led us to see in it a criticism of a society in which individuals played a public role and a private role, and that men themselves were disintegrating as the need to shift became more pressing. But when it is presented again, after thirty years, the context within which it is found has had so much added to it that it is now understood to have been O'Neill's first autobiographical play, depicting the struggles of his own growth and his relationship with the members of his family. In the Deweyian concept of history, it is the past which is being corrected, in light of the present, in light of improved and advanced understandings of methods of intelligent decision, rather than that the present is more clearly understood as the past is more accurately mirrored. In fact, the very mirror of that past depends upon the improvement of intelligence in the present.

Let me add a final word, because I cannot resist it. Little or nothing has been said, anywhere, of the humor with which Dewey saw the world. Indeed, the dour Vermonter stands among us as one whose serious attitude toward the serious world could never be improved upon. Yet there is a way of reading Dewey, even in his most serious works, so as to derive such a quality of compassion and balance, that one could hardly doubt but that he was not only delighted by serious effort, but seriousness was tolerable only because he could see what it was seriousness was counteracting. If he despaired over the directions which Progressive Education took, as indeed he did, can anyone doubt that while he despaired over the direction, he felt

compassion for those from whom passion brought forth foolishness? There is yet a fine essay to be written on the concept of humor in Dewey's pragmatism. Certainly those who knew him in person for many years might well be invited to put their hands to this. If the legend, and the myth of Dewey, is to continue to grow (and who can doubt that it ought to) then, as with Lincoln, the side of humor and compassion must be established along with his commitment to freedom, to intelligence, to growth, to Democracy.

Appendix

SCHOOLMEN'S WEEK, 1959

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